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Isaac M. Barr and the Britannia Colony

by

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ABSTRACT

The Britannia Colony, more familiarly known as the Barr Colony, was a venture in settlement conceived in the minds of two individuals whereby a large party of British settlers would come - and did come - to Canada in 1903 and settle a large block of land on the Western prairies. The affair commenced in a flush of enthusiasm, nearly foundered when arrangements collapsed but ultimately achieved success. It was an instance of a group of immigrants settling in an isolated area and bringing with them their social, religious, and cultural institutions; it was a case of a group of people seemingly unfitted for farming becoming successful in the occupation. They lived at first in isolation but this ended with the coming of a railway.

This study purports, in the main, to be a completely documented account of this scheme, its inception and success. At the same time, an attempt will be made to put the record in a proper perspective to clarify any misconceptions that may exist and determine the causes of some of the inconveniences experienced by the colonists and to throw some light on the founders.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study could not have been completed without help from many individuals. Particularly do I wish to convey my thanks to Professor L. G. Thomas, Head of the Department of History, University of Alberta, for his help, suggestions and inspiration; to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, for permitting me access to the Sifton Papers and files of the Department of the Interior; to John H. Archer, Legislative Librarian of the Province of Saskatchewan, for making available much original source material on the Barr Colony and for procuring the microfilm of File 194804 - the "Barr File"; to Miss M. Ruth Murray of the Library of the University of Saskatchewan; to Mr. Robert Blackburn, Librarian of the University of Toronto, for granting me access to the Mavor Papers; to Miss D. V. M. Chadwick of Cambridge, England, who kindly copied out excerpts of the 1904 report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society; to Mr. H. A. Dempsey of the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, for making available copies of the Rendell Letters; to the State Librarian of Victoria, Australia, for material on Barr's later years and death; to Dr. Guy R. Lyle, Director of Libraries, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, (and himself the son of a Barr Colonist) for the loan of the microfilm of the Rackham diary. Finally special thanks must be given to Mrs. E. K. Stodola, who typed the final copy, and to my wife who proofread it and made many helpful suggestions. To these and others who helped in any way no matter how small - my sincere thanks.

Although this study of the Barr Colony has not been an easy trail to follow I have enjoyed it. I am impelled, however, to point out that it is but a beginning - much more detailed work should be done on more of these western Canadian settlements. It is a fruitful field for research and an opportunity for all to learn more of that vast area known as Western Canada.

E. J. H.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Foreword

The traveller by air, proceeding northwestward from Winnipeg to Edmonton across the great prairie heartland of Canada, cannot fail to observe two major streams lying across his path. These are the South and North Saskatchewan Rivers, branches of one of the world's great systems. Both rise in the Rockies; both take divergent paths as they flow east and northeast across the plains finally to meet and flow as one into Lake Winnipeg and thence into Hudson Bay by the twin Nelson and Hayes Rivers. Those fortunate enough to be seated on the starboard side of the aircraft will, soon after crossing the South Saskatchewan, see not only its northern sister but will notice that both even then draw closer together as they wend their way northeast to the distant horizon where they meet. As the country continues to unfold like a map, a third river is seen joining the North Saskatchewan from the south. This is the Battle, which meets the major stream at Battleford, the historic police post on the southern bank, and North Battleford, the modern railway town to the north. Now the aircraft veers more to the west, passing over a fertile area whose ordered farmlands are shaped to a wedge by the river gullies bounding it. Soon another urban centre appears and after it a change in the country as the aircraft begins its long and gradual descent into Edmonton.

This last urban feature is Lloydminster, situated astride

the Alberta-Saskatchewan border, formed by the Fourth Initial Meridian or 110 degrees west longitude. It is the centre of an area peopled by settlers who arrived from England in a colonization scheme known as the Britannia Colony, the All British Colony or, most familiarly, the Barr Colony. This venture sprang to life in the minds of two clergymen, Reverend I. M. Barr and Reverend George E. Lloyd, as a means of bringing out a few hundred British settlers to the prairies but mushroomed into a movement of almost 2,000 souls. It almost failed but the settlers ultimately prospered. The site chosen for this settlement was athwart the Fourth Initial Meridian where some fifty-seven townships were set aside for the colonists at a time when there existed no means of transport other than wagons and river traffic, although a railway came soon afterward.

The story of the Barr Colony has often been told in a more or less popular form. Newspaper and periodical articles, pamphlets, radio broadcasts, and books have all narrated it in one way or another. Some have sought to dramatize it, particularly the hardships suffered by the settlers, although it is doubtful if they endured any worse setbacks than any other group of settlers. No concerted effort has been made to probe more deeply into the background of this colony. Nor has any attempt been made as far as is known to analyze clearly the character of its principal founder, I. M. Barr. Was he simply a dishonest promoter? Or was he merely an honest enough man who took on a scheme that proved too big for

him? An attempt will be made to discuss all these factors on what evidence is available.

Before commencing the story of the Barr Colony, it is necessary to deal briefly with the historical background of the area.

Historial Introduction

When in 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its title to what is now the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, an era of 200 years had ended.[1] The last fifty years of this had been a period of prosperity as far as the Company was concerned after the keen and ruinous rivalry with its arch enemy, the Northwest Company. But it had been a monopoly wherein everything had been subordinated to the fur trade. The Company held that its charter granted in 1670 was supreme but by the 1850's there were signs that this could not last. Settlement had up to then been openly discouraged and in spite of the founding of the Red River Settlement in 1811, this trend continued. Apart from fur traders and missionaries (who were often viewed with distrust) only a few fortunate individuals were allowed into what was a vast game preserve. When, in 1857 a Select Committee met in London to

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1. Arthur S. Morton. A History of the Canadian West to 1870. London, Nelson, 1939. Much of the material for this section is from this source. Another excellent account of the fur trade is E. E. Rich, Hudson's Bay Company, 1670 - 1870, 3 volumes. (Toronto, 1960.)

inquire into the validity of the charter, it found that its only authorities on the area were company servants.[2] Yet even Sir George Simpson, implacable foe of settlement that he was, must have realized that the status quo could not be preserved for long. Moreover, it turned out that the Imperial Government was concerned about the area, a concern that may have been precipitated in part by dissatisfaction with the Hudson's Bay Company and in part by the noisy utterances of certain expansionist elements in the United States. In any event an expedition was sent out to examine the area and to report upon it. Its leader was John Palliser and under his leadership the expedition spent four seasons studying the heartland and in 1863 there appeared his celebrated report.[3] This convinced the Imperial Government of the value of the area and its appearance coupled with the steady march of events towards Confederation served to convince the Company that the monopoly was at an end.

It must not be thought that the fur trade period was devoid of achievement. The fur traders in their explorations in search of furs, located and mapped the Saskatchewan River system, the northern

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2. Report from the Select Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company Together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence. (London, 1857)

3. John Palliser. Journals of Explorations of Captain Palliser in British North America, 1857 - 1863. (London, 1863)

branch of which formed a convenient highway into the interior. They found feasible routes both to the Arctic and across the Rockies; the latter was to remain in use until the coming of the railway.

The Land

The area of particular interest in this study lies astride the Fourth Initial Meridian and stretches for some thirty miles to east and west of it. In a north to south direction it is almost athwart a giant wedge bounded on the north by the North Saskatchewan River and on the south by the Battle. Although it extends to the North Saskatchewan, it does not reach the Battle nor the junction of the two. The land itself is rolling parkland, studded with clumps of trees, characteristic of north central Alberta and Saskatchewan and in decided contrast to the almost treeless plains to the south. The potential of its soil was early recognized as John Macoun in a letter to Sandford Fleming appearing in the reports on the survey of a route for the Canadian Pacific noted:

> "From the English River to Fort Pitt, the surface of the country is much broken... Many tracts have excellent soil and would bring immense crops of all kinds if not injured by summer frosts." 4

Macoun was alluding to the climate of the area, often extreme, bitterly cold in winter, hot in summer, with the uncertainty of

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4. Sandford Fleming Report on the Progress of the Canadian Pacific Railway. (Ottawa, 1874). Appendix C, 67. Macoun was Botanist to the Fleming's Expedition.

how many frost free days there would be in any season to allow crops to ripen. Only when newer frost resistant strains of wheat were developed was this uncertainty overcome.

Captain W. F. Butler termed the area adjacent to the Saskatchewan Rivers the "Fertile Belt.....the home of millions yet unborn."[5] This enthusiastic claim was not to be borne out quickly. The signing of the Deed of Surrender did not bring a flood of settlers. Until the coming of the railway almost the only settlers were those engaged in the southern part of the area in cattle raising. While the North-West Mounted Police stopped the illegal whiskey trade, they helped prepare the area for settlement by helping the Indians and Métis prepare for the coming of the settlers.[6] In this way bloodshed was avoided except in 1885.

The fur trading posts in the area could hardly be classed as settlements. Some with their well tended gardens, took on an air of permanence but their residents were not settlers in the true sense of that word as they were likely to be moved at set intervals. The nearest fur trading post to the area of the Barr Colony was Fort Pitt which had disappeared long before the colonists arrived. It was half way between Fort Carlton and Fort Edmonton,

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5. W. F. Butler. The Great Lone Land. (London, 1872) 230

6. Paul F. Sharp. Whoop-Up Country. (Minneapolis, 1955) Chapter 6.

the latter being an important distribution centre in the fur trade. As the fur trade waned, Forts Pitt and Carlton declined in importance and were ultimately destroyed, but an entirely different destiny awaited Fort Edmonton.

Settlement after 1885. The Surveys and the Coming of the Railway

Before the new lands could be thrown open to settlers, it was necessary that they be accurately surveyed in order to insure a fair disposition. Surveys began almost as soon as the Deed of Surrender was signed and after some adjustments, made rapid progress.[7] The actual account of these has been narrated by others but it is sufficient to note that in Canada one uniform system was used on the western plains. Not only were the surveys highly accurate but the surveyors, in addition to mapping townships, sections and road allowances, described both vegetation and soil in each area, thus providing a useful summary of it.

The surveys discouraged squatters and the introduction of the homestead allowed an individual to take up 160 acres of land which he could develop and to which he could ultimately win title. But the completion of the surveys did not bring in a flood of settlers and it was only after the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway that they began to arrive in a steady stream. Only after the turn of

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7. C. W. Lester. "Dominion Land Surveys". Alberta Historical Review, XI. 3. p. 20

the century did the flood commence. Settlement at first followed the railways with homesteaders taking up land along the main and branch lines of the Canadian Pacific. Away from the railways settlement was sparse. In such areas transportation was primitive, with ox carts and pack horses being the principal means, although the Hudson's Bay Company operated river boats on the North and South Saskatchewan with indifferent success. Even with the coming of the Dominion Telegraph communication was erratic, although some improvement appeared when the railway telegraph lines came into operation.

Although the Dominion of Canada had promised British Columbia a railway within ten years as an inducement to enter Confederation in 1871, it soon found that it was one thing to promise a railway and quite another to bring that promise to fruition. Fourteen years were to elapse before the promised line was completed to the Pacific -- years of legislation, a major scandal, and staggering cost. There is little need to dwell here upon the story of the building of the C. P. R. except to note that much of the cost was met by tremendous grants of prairie lands to the railway by the Government. This drew bitter criticism from those who felt that much valuable land would be placed beyond the reach of the farmer of limited means. Two decades later when the Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian Northern systems were expanded westward, the land grant policy was abandoned, largely because there was little land left to give. Instead the

Government adopted the policy of guaranteeing the securities of these railways - a method that often proved to be incautious.[8]

The choice of a more southerly route for the C. P. R. was a matter of economics rather than defence. With a southern line settlers would fill up the prairies from the south. Furthermore, such a line would prevent American roads from building feeder lines into Canada and so capturing the trade from the Canadian West. The construction of branch lines to Edmonton, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert, encouraged settlement in those areas. In this way the pattern of settlement on the prairies was set until the arrival of the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern.[9]

Canadian Immigration Policy

At the time of the Barr enterprise, immigration was under the control of the Department of the Interior. From 1896 - 1905 the minister in charge of this Department was Clifford Sifton. Sifton, upon assuming office, decided that not enough attention had been given to immigration, particularly as far as peopling the west was concerned. Accordingly he embarked upon an energetic programme to remedy the situation. His policy was to attract settlers from all countries but particularly from Europe and his vigorous campaign

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8. G. R. Stevens. Canadian National Railways. Volume 2. Towards the Inevitable, 1896 - 1922. (Toronto, 1962)

9. Arthur S. Morton. History of Prairie Settlement. (Toronto, 1938) Ch. V.

showed results before long.[10] In pursuing this policy he encountered fierce opposition not only from members on the opposite side of the Commons but from members of his own party. Notable among this latter body of critics was Frank Oliver, who was later to assume the very portfolio that Sifton held. Oliver was outspoken in his criticism of Galicians and Doukhobors -- two groups who had arrived in considerable numbers under Sifton's regime. These people, Oliver declared, cared nothing for Canada.[11] Other critics cried that not enough British settlers were arriving and that more men from Eastern Canada should settle in the west. Sifton countered these cries by largely ignoring Oliver's protestations and by pointing to statistics showing that the largest single group of settlers arriving in Canada came from the British Isles. To those who suggested men from Eastern Canada, he retorted that these did not wish to take up farming in the west as they had had enough of that occupation. Neither was Sifton's position eased by criticism of the North Atlantic Trading Company, a group of European businessmen with headquarters at the Hague. It acted as an agency to obtain prospective settlers from certain countries where emigration was either discouraged or forbidden outright. As these men were flouting the laws of the countries concerned, their names had to be kept secret

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10. John W. Dafoe. Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times. (Toronto, 1931).

11. Canada, House of Commons Debates. April 12, 1901.

and this annoyed the Opposition who suspected underhand dealings. Although the Company brought many settlers to Canada, it remained suspect in many minds and the Government ultimately had to sever its connection with it.[12] Such criticisms must have made Sifton wary for it appears that he was touchy about critical opinion wherein his immigration policies were concerned. It is uncertain whether the cries of Oliver and others were motivated by imperialism or a simple dislike of settlers from continental Europe.

Church Affiliation of Colonial Settlements

It must be made clear at the outset that the Barr Colony was not a church sponsored settlement as is sometimes thought, since both Barr and Lloyd were Anglican clergymen. Barr was to all but cease active clerical duties when he assumed the leadership of his settlers while Lloyd went as chaplain to the colony with his stipend being paid by the Colonial and Continental Church Society. The settlement was purely secular. This was in decided contrast to the Mormons whose every move was directed by their Church. From the eastern United States to Salt Lake City and ultimately to Cardston, the domination of the church was ever present. While such apparent domination may appear excessive, it had the advantage of binding the adherents together, particularly in times of stress. The Church

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12. W. T. R. Preston. My Generation of Politics and Politicians. (Toronto, 1927)

provided for its people and backed all enterprises with money and goods and was always ready to help, even if an individual owned his own home and equipment and had a substantial bank account. With such unified purpose and action, success was assured.[13]

Nor can the Barr enterprise be likened entirely to the Canterbury Colony of New Zealand, founded by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and John Robert Godley. Their high minded if idealistic motives were intended to remedy abuses inherent in colonizing that part of the world.[14] A land company was formed and land was to be sold to settlers at a "just price" with one third of the money from the sales to be used for worthy objectives such as bringing out more settlers. The land price, however, proved too high for the colonists and the company foundered, after which the colonists were obliged to handle their own affairs. Originally the settlement was to be a Church of England one, confined strictly to Anglicans with the Church Missionary Society providing the clergy. Barr and Lloyd did not form a company and all a settler had to pay was his homestead fee.

It is therefore almost impossible to compare Barr's scheme to any other for no two were exactly alike. A more likely comparison

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13. C. A. Dawson. Group Settlement of Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Volume VII of series Canadian Frontiers of Settlement. (Toronto, 1936), 204; Thomas F. O'Dea. The Mormons. (Chicago, 1957). This last is a thorough account.

14. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. A Letter from Sydney the Principal Town of Australia and Other Writings on Colonization. (London, 1928); R. Garnett. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. (London, 1898); Paul Bloomfield. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. (London, 1961).

would be the German Catholic Settlements founded at the same time as Barr's colony. Church influence here was dominant, although perhaps not so dominant as in the case of the Mormons. A Roman Catholic Order laid the groundwork and addressed preliminary inquiries to the Canadian Government. Following this a land company was formed guaranteeing a definite number of settlers within a certain time. The Church came with the settlers and its influence was distinctly marked in the social life of the community, although the German Catholics, unlike the Mennonites and Doukhobors, did not resist the teaching of English in the schools in their area. The Germans did everything communally; for example, while four men worked on railroad construction, a fifth stayed home to look after their land. From this came a slow and steady development.[15] The English settlers may have done things on a communal basis but it was more informal.

In summary, it may be said that of all these settlement schemes two had a dominant religion playing its part; the Mormons and the German Catholics, although in the case of the Mormons the Church took far more active a part in the business life of the settlement. The others - Wakefield's Canterbury settlement and Barr Colony were secular, although Wakefield's original idea had definite religious overtones. It can of course be argued that many

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15. C. A. Dawson. Group Settlement of Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. (Toronto, 1936).

important colonization schemes had a religious side. The role of religion in New France is too well known to need elaboration here, and the Puritans on Massachusetts Bay came there because of religious persecution. One thing all these groups had in common was that in their new land they sought to preserve a set of values that they cherished even though they may have failed to see that as they succeeded, people of other nationalities and faiths would be attracted to their new land. In spite of this the Mormons and French Canadians proved successful at holding their own.

The Motive for Emigration in 1903

The turn of the century witnessed a decided upsurge in emigration from Britain. The reason often advanced is the prevalence of unsettled conditions in England immediately following the South African War but this is only part of the story. According to Robert England,[16] the reason for emigration had changed. The idea in the seventeenth century had been to seek space for an expanding population; in the eighteenth more food was needed as the birthrate increased and by the end of the nineteenth it had crystallized into the urge to improve one's material standard of living. Seemingly unlimited opportunities in the Dominions and the United States

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16. Robert England. The Colonization of Western Canada. A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement. (London, 1936).

enhanced this desire for advancement. The revolt against the narrow conventions of Victorian England was at its height and the Boer War had injected into British youth a faith in an unshakeable Empire. No longer was emigration considered as a last haven for the hopeless or an expedient means of ridding the homeland of undesirables. The idea of unlimited opportunities only took hold at the turn of the century. As late as the 1860's many a ship carried a load of hopeless emigrants to the New World; to these any talk of unlimited opportunity would have had a hollow ring.[17] It was only the aspiring young men after 1902 who saw in emigration the wide open door to achievement such as they had only dreamed of.

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17. E. Guillet. The Great Migration. (Toronto, 1963).

II. THE GENESIS OF THE BARR COLONY

Although the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway had opened the western Canadian Prairies to settlers, there was not a sudden influx. Instead the arrival of settlers began as a trickle that was to build up to a flood that reached its greatest volume by 1914. These years from 1900 to 1914 witnessed one of the great mass movements of all time when immigrants from many countries of Europe as well as the British Isles arrived in Canada. Although many took up farming, others remained in the cities where they followed a variety of pursuits.

The largest single group to come to Canada at the turn of the century were the Americans, while the next in size came from the British Isles as shown by the following table for the years 1899 to 1902 inclusive.[1]

Year	British	American
1899	10,623	11,945
1900	10,360	8,543
1901	11,810	17,987
1902	17,259	26,388

Such figures must have been gratifying to the Department of the Interior and particularly to the Honourable Clifford Sifton, the Minister — more so they enabled him to confound his detractors such as Frank Oliver.[2] They would have vindicated what he and his

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1. Canada. Department of the Interior. Annual Report, 1902.

2. Canada. House of Commons Debates. April 12, 901.

colleagues regarded as a new and vigorous immigration policy.

In Britain such figures would have been not only interesting but gratifying, particularly to those who would see in them that Canada was being settled with many settlers of British stock and so would be kept in the Empire, for the emigrants to Canada would be settling among their own as it were. Some of those holding more extreme imperialistic views would regard this as proof of the theories of the chief apologists of imperialism, Sir J. R. Seeley and J. A. Froude. Seeley had published his Cambridge lectures in 1883 and these had gone through two editions and many printings.[3] His main tenet was Greater Britain or more simply the transplanting of Britain and British institutions to the far corners of the earth:

> "...a real enlargement of the English State; it carries across the seas not merely the English race but the authority of the English Government. We call it, for want of a better word, an Empire." [4]

The more people who emigrated from Britain, the more effectively this could be accomplished.

Froude, like Seeley, was an advocate of Greater Britain, but regarded colonies as mere territorial extensions of the mother-land. The Imperial Federationists were very active in the last two

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3. Sir J. R. Seeley. The Expansion of England. 2nd ed. (London, 1906). Seeley and Froude attracted a considerable following. Both ignored colonial nationalism and this weakened their theories.

4. Seeley. Ibid p. 51.

decades of the nineteenth century and the short-lived Imperial Federation League had embarked upon an intensive campaign of propaganda and had issued a periodical, Imperial Federation, to advance its ideas, the chief of which was to effect a political union of the Empire, an idea which did not succeed. After the League was dissolved in 1893, its ideas enjoyed considerable influence but other means were employed by its adherents such as an attempt to bring about an economic rather than a political understanding between England and the colonies. Political agitation was from then on limited to informal discussion, but sentiments would still have remained strong.[5]

Although such an optimistic feeling was abroad, there were bound to be some who thought that not enough British settlers were going to Canada. One of these was the Reverend George Exton Lloyd, who was at that time Deputation Secretary to the Colonial and Continental Church Society, in which position he would have been able to keep a close watch on emigration affairs. Lloyd was born in London in 1861 but had lived in Canada since he was twenty years of age.[6] In 1885, when a student of theology at Wycliffe College, Toronto, he interrupted his studies and joined the University

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5. C. A. Bodelson. Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism. (London, 1960). 207 ff. An excellent discussion of Imperialistic thought in the nineteenth century.

6. Canadian Who's Who, 1938. (Toronto, 1938).

Company of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, in which he served with Colonel Otter's forces at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill in the North-West Rebellion. In this action he earned himself the distinction of being mentioned in dispatches for carrying a wounded comrade to safety while a companion kept the enemy at bay.[7] Afterwards he returned to college, was ordained and served for a time as chaplain to the Queen's Own. A few years later he became rector of Rothesay, New Brunswick, and there founded the well known boys' school.

By 1900 Lloyd was back in England serving as Deputation Secretary with the Colonial and Continental Church Society. He may have at this time wondered about the influx of Americans and others and why so few seemed to be going from Britain. It would have been easy for him to view these movements in terms of imperialist thought as he may have been influenced by imperialist ideas. In any event, he wrote to The Times, suggesting that the English press do more to make people aware of the lands available in Canada for settlement:

> "Millions of acres of the finest agricultural land in the world are being offered by the Canadian Government (160 acres a head free) to all bona fide

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7. Illustrated War News. (Toronto, 1886). This not only gives an account of the action but a picture of Lloyd himself, as well as an artist's impression of the actual incident. According to this report, Lloyd was wounded.

> settlers and yet English people are looking on while Americans (who generally know a good thing when they see it) are rushing over the border by thousands to seize the opportunity and, of course, the future reward." 8

He then proceeded to elaborate further on what he considered the indiscriminate settlement of British territory by foreigners and Americans, wishing that he could take out some of those who were crowding the old country. He further wondered why they did not seize the initiative:

> "But why do they not go on their own account? Are they afraid they would be going from civilization to barbarism in a wild unknown land?" 9

Lloyd appeared here to be touching on the question of the apparent reluctance of Englishmen to migrate in large numbers although he was probably aware that both the Irish and Scottish settlers had accounted for a considerable peopling of Canada. He concluded:

> "Now is the time if English people are going at all. Why not make up parties of say 100 each and go out and settle by townships in company together? Why not a large party for next March? I am willing to do all I can to help." 10

Lloyd may not have intended to do more than provoke a few thoughtful Englishmen into realizing that they were missing a

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8. The Times. London, September 22, 1902. Clipping in File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). File in Public Archives of Canada.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

splendid opportunity by not going to Canada. He was ready to answer any inquiries about Western Canada to the best of his ability and may have thought that if parties could be formed as he had suggested, they could settle on neighbouring sections in an informal manner rather than in the isolation that appeared to be a feature of so many settlements whose inhabitants came from Continental Europe.

Lloyd's letter aroused tremendous interest and he was flooded with inquiries from individuals who were either contemplating emigration or waiting for someone else to take the initiative. His letter also received considerable attention in the press. The Daily News in an editorial of September 27, 1902, felt that Lloyd was "understating the case about the emigration of Americans and quite overlooking the influx of American trade and capital".[11] It further declared that it was to be hoped that the press would follow Lloyd's suggestion and do something. There was little need for concern. Lloyd's letter continued to arouse interest. A month later the Daily Express[12] quoted no less a person than Sir Gilbert Parker[13] (whom it termed "the member for the Colonies") as favouring the establishment of an imperial emigration office to work with the governments of the Dominions, but nothing seems to have come of this.

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11. Daily News. London. September 27, 1902. Clipping in "Barr File".

12. Daily Express. London. October 29, 1902. Clipping in "Barr File".

13. W. S. Wallace. The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1945), II, 513. Sir Horatio Gilbert Parker (1862-1932) was a well known Canadian born author. He was a journalist in Australia and in 1889 went to England and turned with great success to writing fiction. From 1900 to 1918 he represented Gravesend in the House of Commons and was a leading figure of the Unionist Party.

As Lloyd soon found himself unable to answer individually each inquiry of his voluminous correspondence, he had a circular letter printed to be sent to inquirers.[14] In this he discussed the more important aspects of emigration, at the same time emphasizing that he was neither an emigration agent nor a government official but that he was a secretary for a Church society whose purpose was to help new settlements in the colonies establish their own churches.

In his circular letter Lloyd drew attention to what he termed a very good scheme then actually being organized by the curate of a North London Church. Lloyd himself may have noticed communications from this individual to the press dwelling upon emigration to Canada. Eventually -- exactly when is not known -- he and the clergyman from North London met. This was the Reverend Isaac M. Barr.

The Advent of Isaac M. Barr

Isaac Montgomery Barr came of a very different background than that of Lloyd. He was born in 1849 in Canada and almost nothing is known of his early life except that he was an undergraduate at the University of Toronto. He studied Theology at Hellmuth College, London, Ontario, and was ordained Deacon in 1871 and Priest the same year. Following this he was curate at Woodstock and then at Exeter.[15] In 1875 he was one of two clergymen who answered

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14. George Exton Lloyd. Circular Letter. September, 1902. Copy in "Barr File".

15. T. C. B. Boon. The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies. (Toronto, 1962) 291.

the call of the Right Reverend John MacLean to serve in the newly formed Diocese of Saskatchewan,[16] where he was examining chaplain to the Bishop of Saskatchewan. He remained there a year and then returned east owing to family illness and was incumbent at Point Edward cum Perche and then Newport.[17] By 1881 he was missionary at Kanyenga near Brantford where he appears to have got into some trouble which resulted in the termination of his appointment there; it seems he held unorthodox views.[18] The following year found him in Winnipeg writing to the Bishop of Huron (Hellmuth) for letters dimissory to allow him to accept work in the Diocese of Rupert's Land. Bishop Hellmuth declined to grant these letters.[19] In 1883 he was back in Ontario again writing to Bishop Hellmuth affirming his orthodoxy and asking for employment.[20] He must have received

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16. The other was Rev. William Newton who came to Edmonton in 1875 and founded All Saints' Church (now All Saints' Cathedral). He recounted his adventures in Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan. (London, 1897).

17. T.C.B. Boon. Ibid. Church Missionary Society. Records and Correspondence. Bishop of Saskatchewan to Rev. H. Wright, November 11, 1875. Bishop MacLean notes his sad disappointment at Barr's sudden departure which would seem to indicate that it would be difficult to replace him but that he was liked and was on good terms with the Bishop. Prolonged illness of his wife and child in Canada was the reason.

18. Diocese of Huron. Archives. Clerk of New England Company to Bishop of Huron, June 18, 1881. Clerk of New England Company Company to Barr terminating his appointment at Kanyenga. Rev. J. Hill to Bishop of Huron, March 13, 1882. This complained of Barr's unorthodoxy.

19. Diocese of Huron. Archives. Barr to Bishop, April 8, 1882, requesting letters dimissory. Bishop of Huron (Hellmuth) to Barr, April 19, 1882. Letters dimissory declined.

20. Diocese of Huron. Archives. Barr to Bishop, March 19, 1883. Barr affirmed his orthodoxy and asked for employment in Huron.

this for he was incumbent at Point Edward.[21]

Barr appears to have remained in Huron for three years following which he left the Diocese and Canada and went to Saginaw, Michigan, where he was rector for ten years, following which he moved to Harriman, Tennessee, where he remained until 1897.[22] In that year he arrived at Whatcom, Washington, now part of the present city of Bellingham. Here he was a respected citizen according to testimonials to him which still exist.[23] In 1901 he came to England with the intention of taking a party of settlers to South Africa but was prevented from doing so by the unsettled conditions in that country at the time. He then took temporary duty as curate in charge at St. Saviour's Church, Tollington Park, North London.

In 1901 he was corresponding with W. J. White, Canadian Commissioner for Immigration in London, hoping for a position in the Civil Service as an immigration officer,[24] but was informed that no vacancies existed at that moment.[25] This may have decided him to organize a party on his own.

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21. T.C.B. Boon. The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies. (Toronto, 1962). 291.

22. Letter from F. A. Peake, February 22, 1964.

23. "Barr File", Testimonials re I. M. Barr.

24. "Barr File". Barr to White, February 7, 1902.

25. "Barr File". White to Barr, March 11, 1902.

Barr had been writing about immigration in the press prior to the appearance of Lloyd's letter in The Times. The two must have met soon after their respective letters appeared in print. Barr's discursive letters appeared in such newspapers as the Belfast Evening Telegraph, the Aberdeen Journal, and the Hornsey and Finsbury Park Journal and North Islington Standard.[26] If Lloyd read these, his reaction would have been one of relief to see that others were interested in the same problem as he. Barr discussed mainly the desire of British people to be near their own kind and pointed out that in order to preserve their identity, they should settle in communal groups similar to those of certain European ethnic groups. He continued:

> "This can only be accomplished by concerted and properly directed action. The Canadian Government will favour the plan and the officials of the Canadian Emigration Department both in England and Canada will lend most willing help. But someone must start the movement. The result will be that shiploads of British people will gladly sail for the promised land of the west." [27]

Barr went on in this optimistic vein by exhorting all who thought of improving their material standard to emigrate and at the same moment telling them that his scheme to organize the first entirely

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26. Belfast Evening Telegraph, September 22, 1902; Aberdeen Journal, September 23, 1902; Hornsey and Finsbury Park Journal and North Islington Standard, October 4, 1902. Clippings in "Barr File".

27. Belfast Evening Telegraph, September 22, 1902; Aberdeen Journal, September 23, 1902. Clippings in "Barr File".

British settlement in Western Canada would be welcomed with joy. His plans, at this point, if they existed at all, were only on paper but he spoke of a possible party of one thousand in the following March. The remainder of this letter was simply a glowing picture of British settlers puring into the Saskatchewan Valley, which he portrayed as having a mild climate, plentiful timber and great natural beauty.[28] Barr at this point may have allowed his enthusiasm to get the better of him; there is no evidence that he acted in other than good faith. He was earnest in stressing the importance of having close neighbours of one's own nationality, although he said nothing about Canadian and American settlers.

Lloyd and Barr decided to work together although Lloyd, swamped as he must have been by inquiries, would have been pleased enough to have been relieved of any additions to his duties with the Colonial and Continental Church Society. That he was in complete agreement with Barr's scheme is borne out by his circular letter in which he refers to the plan and further states that he had "carefully gone into this plan in consultation with the Canadian Government officials....and I am satisfied it is the very thing that I want to see carried out."[29] He went on to reiterate what Barr had previously declared; that while the scheme as planned

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28. Ibid.

29. George Exton Lloyd. Circular Letter, September, 1902. Copy in "Barr File".

was a communal one -- by which he meant a group of British settlers taking up land on neighbouring sections — every man would be free to act in his own interests if he so desired. Like Barr, he discussed the advantages of a large party, adding that the Canadian Government could do for a large group what it could not do economically for the individual. Finally he let it be known that he had been asked to go as chaplain to the colony but had made no decision to that effect.[30] It is easy to speculate but Lloyd may have discussed the matter of a church for the proposed group settlement with his superiors of the Society and someone may have suggested that as he knew Western Canada, he would be the logical choice.

At this time Barr published his first pamphlet outlining his project in some detail. It bears the imposing title British Settlements for North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands with a sub-title, Canada for the British.[31] In it Barr, after a brief introduction, says that while the location of the proposed settlement "is not definitely fixed, it is almost certain to be in Northern Alberta[32] or the Saskatchewan Valley somewhere between Edmonton and Battleford."[33] He then went on to reveal that he intended to visit Canada to meet officials of the Department of the

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30. Ibid.

31. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlements in North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands, Canada for the British. (London, 1902). Copy in "Barr File".

32. Barr is here referring to the old District of Alberta.

33. Ibid.

Interior and to inspect personally a promising site. He dwells at length on his plans: the idea of a co-operative venture, the classes of people most suitable, and how much money and effects should be taken. As in his letters to the press, he describes the land in glowing terms.

The pamphlet is an interesting document. While its writer appears quite honest in his proposals about the venture itself, his glowing assessment of the climate of the area leads anyone familiar with it to doubt if he really knew the North-West as well as he claimed. His introduction of himself was a masterpiece of self-esteem, although no worse than in many instances when such techniques were used to advance much less reputable schemes. These sections of his pamphlet as well as his second one[34] have been used by his critics to vilify him and his ideas. Some have asserted that he actually set out to cheat the settlers. Others maintain that he acted honestly. It is easy to be wise after the event and the truth seems to be that Barr was at this stage acting in good faith but occasionally allowed his enthusiasm to gain the upper hand.

By now Barr had established himself in an office in Sarjeant's Inn just off Fleet Street, next to that of Lloyd. Here

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34. Barr issued two pamphlets, the first prior to his journey, the second on his return. The first is entitled British Settlements In North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands. Canada for the British. The title of the second is British Settlements in North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands. Canada for the British. Report of My Journey to the Saskatchewan Valley to Select Land for the First British Settlement. All that distinguishes these two pamphlets from each other is that the title of the second states it is a report and the pamphlet itself is much longer than the first.

they worked together and continued their overtures to the Canadian Government.

The Approaches to the Canadian Immigration Officials

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Canadian Government had maintained an immigration office in London for some years. It was part of the Department of the Interior, and although under the general supervision of the Office of the Canadian High Commissioner in London (of which Lord Strathcona was then in charge), it was housed separately. The principal tasks of the Commissioner of Immigration were to promote the virtues of Canada as a country in which to settle, to issue homestead applications to those wishing them, to collect any fees accruing therein and generally to provide relevant information about Canada.

The Commissioner for Immigration in 1902 was W. T. R. Preston (1851 - 1942). In his autobiography he describes his work in London in some detail, although he says nothing about either Barr or Lloyd.[35] He does, however, say that previous to his arrival in London, little if anything, was done to promote immigration seriously but that under Sifton's guidance there had been a great improvement. This last statement may have been Preston's rosy view of his own accomplishments but immigration definitely increased during Sifton's tenure of office; this is borne out by such writers as J. W. Dafoe,[36]

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35. W.T.R. Preston. My Generation of Politics and Politicians. (Toronto, 1927).

36. John W. Dafoe. Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times. (Toronto, 1931).

Robert England,[37] as well as by the annual reports of the Department of the Interior.[38]

Barr, having decided to proceed independently after his unsuccessful approach to W. J. White, soon appeared at Preston's office to obtain information and to outline his plans. Preston for his part seems to have been receptive to these from the outset. It was at this point that Barr apparently discussed with Preston the possibility of having a sizeable block of land reserved for his projected settlement but made no definite choice since he was planning to visit Canada shortly to select a likely site and to assess the general possibilities of the area.

It appears that much of the early discussion between Barr and Lloyd and the Department of the Interior was verbal as little correspondence seems to have survived. Nevertheless, enough can be inferred from a perusal of correspondence between government officials. One interesting point that emerges is that Barr mentioned to Preston that he was preparing a circular letter, outlining his ideas and plans to his inquirers. Preston seems to have been impressed with this and to have offered to defray the printing cost. Barr thereupon forwarded a draft to him with a covering

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37. Robert England. The Colonization of Western Canada. A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement. (London, 1936).

38. Canada. Department of the Interior. Annual Reports, 1895-1905.

letter saying that his movement was attracting great interest, that he knew the North-West well, and that he would be willing to organize colonization clubs.[39] Preston's promise was later to cause him some embarrassment.

At this point Preston left London for Ottawa on business and left in charge his assistant, C. F. Just. When Barr called upon Just, he found him none too ready to make any decisions without his superior's sanction. It appeared that Preston had also taken the entire file of correspondence concerning Barr with him to Ottawa and Just wrote him in haste reminding him of this and of his promise to pay for the publication of the circular. He further informed Preston that Barr wished the Department to allow him to suggest to his correspondents that they remit funds to the Department to meet his expenses in travelling to Canada. Just felt that if he did this, it would place the Department in a misleading light in the eyes of the emigrants.[40] To Just, Barr appeared a determined individual, most anxious to see that his plans worked out well. Just subsequently spoke to Preston of Barr's hopes for his South African venture and intimated that Barr had been in touch with Lord Strathcona who had given him a letter to the Colonial Office. This was hardly likely to please Preston who was frequently at odds with

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39. "Barr File". Barr to Preston, August 5, 1902.

40. "Barr File". Just to Preston, August 25, 1902.

Strathcona.[41] Just pointed out to Barr that as a clergyman he would be well advised to act as disinterestedly as possible as far as his correspondents were concerned. He felt that if Barr "could show that he possesses any practical influence in bringing about emigration, the steamship companies would give him a commission and travelling facilities could no doubt be arranged and that in short, he would obtain support of a satisfactory nature."[42]

Just considered that Preston should make inquiries concerning Barr while he was in Canada; it is not known whether Preston did so or not.[43] Just apparently felt uneasy about Barr and his enthusiasm. He further sensed that Barr was becoming over-confident in his statements as to what the Canadian Government could and would do. Just's fears were not allayed by the appearance of a report in the Hornsey and Finsbury Park Journal that Barr had indicated that Preston -- and through Preston the Canadian Government -- was prepared to act as a trustee for those of his emigrants of whom he may have demanded a financial guarantee.[44] Just mentioned this to Preston and drew his attention to his remonstrance to Barr against what he considered an indiscretion in committing the Department:

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41. W.T.R. Preston. My Generation of Politics and Politicians. (Toronto, 1927).

42. "Barr File". Just to Preston, August 30, 1902.

43. Ibid.

44. Idem. The newspaper account is not given in full; Just merely drew Preston's attention to this part of it.

> "I presume that you have Mr. Preston's consent to act in this way, as otherwise it identifies him and the Government with yourself in a manner which is misleading. In any case it is obvious that Mr. Preston should have the opportunity of considering the matter before you commit him in print." 45

Barr had told his followers that if any monetary guarantee was required of them, it could be paid to Preston's office and held in trust there. The Department was not a banking institution and it is not clear why Barr did not simply use a bank and ask Preston if he would allow his name to be used as a reference. If Barr appears indiscreet here, he may have been acting on a verbal promise previously given him by Preston.

Unfortunately, we have no record of Preston's reply to these communications, nor do we have any record of what he did promise or did not promise Barr. In October 1902 Preston sent a memorandum to one F. Pedley in Ottawa saying that Barr was even then en route to Canada and at the same time requesting him to study the correspondence and discuss it with him. On this note is a pencilled notation by Pedley to the effect that if he were out, the matter was to be referred to James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior.[46] Pedley considered the matter important enough to warrant the attention of the Deputy Minister.

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45. "Barr File". Just to Barr, August 30, 1902.

46. "Barr File". Preston to Pedley, October 3, 1902.

Preston in his autobiography, My Generation of Politics and Politicians, is silent about the Barr Colony. This is unfortunate for had he mentioned it, he might have defended his actions as he seemingly drew some official ire over his promises. He does assert that he worked hard to promote emigration from Britain to Canada and it may well be that in his zeal to further the cause, he was prepared to go to any length as he realized that he had Sifton's backing. He may have become disillusioned with Barr or have made some unfavourable discoveries about him and decided to say nothing. Later correspondence seems to intimate that he was unhappy about the whole affair. Had he clarified his position, he might have either defended or condemned Barr as well as enlivening what is a rather uninspired autobiography.

This seemingly trivial correspondence has been studied at some length since it reveals the relationship of the two parties. On the one side was the Canadian Government and its official agent Preston, who in his way was determined to do all he could for the peopling of Canada with British immigrants. On the other side was Barr, restless, unpredictable, volatile, with an agile pen and tongue and determined to implement his master plan of a communal settlement on the Western Prairies. In his readiness to pursue his plans to the utmost, Barr revealed a way of capitalizing on verbal promises from Preston and others (even though these may

not have been very firm) and of committing these men in print and so embarrassing them into agreeing with him. In this way, particularly as far as Preston was concerned, Barr's conduct verged on the indiscreet and it was this that may have antagonized others.

Preston, it appears, endured some embarrassment over this affair. He had his enemies in London, not least of whom was Lord Strathcona smarting under what he considered the humiliation of not being called to Ottawa by Laurier for a ministerial position.[47]

So it was that at the end of September, 1902, matters were in a fluid state. Barr and Lloyd were answering letters and making plans. Barr was preparing to sail to Canada and to inspect his land and interview the officials in Ottawa and Winnipeg. On September 30, he sailed and Just, in a cable to Preston, merely alerted his superior, "Barr sailing to-day".[48]

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47. W.T.R. Preston. My Generation of Politics and Politicians. (Toronto, 1927). 214-226.

48. "Barr File". Just to Preston, September 30, 1902.

III. BARR'S JOURNEY TO CANADA

While Barr was tossing on the North Atlantic on his way to Canada, the offices of the Department of the Interior at Ottawa may have witnessed some hurried conferences. Preston, since he was in Canada, was likely to have discussed the whole matter of Barr's plans with his colleagues. No record of discussion survives; they may well have been entirely verbal but Preston must have outlined his opinions of Barr's plans and give the others his assessment of both Lloyd and Barr. Of his reaction to the frantic communications of C. F. Just we have no record but his enthusiasm must have been dampened by the revelation of Barr's eager way of committing him in print. Nothing more is heard at this point of Preston until he reappeared in England on his return from Canada which may have been soon after Barr sailed. In any event, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, James A. Smart, took over.

James Allen Smart, 1858 - ?, was a native of Ontario but had lived in Manitoba for a number of years until 1897 when he was appointed Deputy Minister of the Interior.[1] As such he took a keen interest in immigration, bringing with him a knowledge of the west which was to prove both vital and necessary to his work.

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1. Canadian Who's Who, 1910. (Toronto, 1910). The biographical details show that Smart was a native of Brockville and had lived in Manitoba for some seventeen years during which he was alderman and Mayor of Brandon, as well as representative for East Brandon in the Manitoba Legislature. In 1892 he became Minister of Public Works in the Greenway administration, a post he held for five years. He was Deputy Minister of the Interior from 1897 to 1904, when he went into business in Montreal. Of his later life and date of death no record is available at the time of writing.

Smart decided at the outset that whatever his colleagues thought of Barr's plans, the only way to place matters in a clear perspective was for him to see Barr personally. Accordingly he wrote to the agent of the Elder-Dempster Company in Montreal requesting that a message be delivered to Barr when his ship docked, asking that he call upon the Deputy Minister at Ottawa.[2] This was effected and Barr arrived in Ottawa where he must have discussed his plans with Smart, although again nothing survives of these discussions. Barr then proceeded to Winnipeg where he called upon the Commissioner of Immigration for the Prairies, J. Obed Smith.[3] Smith was a lawyer by training but in 1901 had been appointed Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg. His legal training and experience must have stood him in good stead in untangling the often knotty problems associated with his work. Smith was an energetic individual and as the man in the field, had a first hand view of matters and this, as is revealed in his long, discursive, and often insistent letters to his superiors in Ottawa, made him impatient of what he considered were unnecessary delays on their

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2. Public Archives of Canada. (PAC). File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). Smart to G. A. Ringland, agent of the Elder-Dempster Company at Montreal, October 7, 1902.

3. Canadian Who's Who 1933, (Toronto, 1933) and Who's Who 1938, (London, 1938). Biographical details show that John Obed Smith was born in England in 1864, came to Canada while young, and was called to the Manitoba Bar in 1891, following which he served the Manitoba Government until he was appointed Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg in 1901. In 1908 he became Assistant Commissioner of Emigration in England and later Commissioner for European Emigration. Later he was a delegate to the League of Nations. He died in England in 1937.

part. On more than one occasion he was to demand and receive authority to proceed with certain matters -- in some instances when he had already carried them out. What is also revealed by his letters was his ability to see quickly to the heart of a problem and he was to play an important part in preventing the arrival and settlement of Barr's colonists from leading to disaster.

It appears that when Barr visited Smith, he requested that a definite tract of land be reserved for his future settlement. He desired all homesteads in eight townships immediately west of the Fourth Meridian and asked that the Land Agent at Battleford be notified.[4] Simultaneously he wrote to Smart from Winnipeg on the same subject, reiterating his request and also mentioning that he intended to secure a contract from the Canadian Northern Railway Company to grade twenty-five miles of roadbed through his settlement in order to give work to the colonists.[5] He indicated that he had been in contact with D. B. Hanna[6] who, he averred, had assured him that there was little doubt that he would obtain such a contract. Hanna, Barr claimed, had promised to take the matter up with Sir William Mackenzie[7] who it seems gave Hanna assurance that Barr would not be

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4. "Barr File". Smith to Smart, October 22, 1902.

5. "Barr File". Barr to Smart, October 22, 1902.

6. D.B. Hanna, afterwards General Manager of the Canadian Northern Railway and subsequently General Manager of the Canadian National at the time of its formation. See G. R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways, Volume 2. Towards the Inevitable. (Toronto, 1962).

7. Sir William Mackenzie who with Donald Mann was one of the promoters of the Canadian Northern. See G. R. Stevens, op. cit. Nothing is said of the colony in this work; it is used only as a source of information on these men and Hanna.

overlooked. Barr then concluded by informing Smart that he was proceeding to his chosen district and again asking that the Agent at Battleford be notified, as two parties of Americans were even then on their way to the area and he did not wish them to be ahead of him. Smart replied that he could not reserve any lands for Barr unless he knew more about the latter's plans.[8] Barr was to find this letter awaiting him at Ottawa when he stopped there on his way home to England. It appears that when he was in Winnipeg, Barr also approached the land agents for the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company but said nothing of this to Smart, although he mentioned it in his second pamphlet which he published on his return to England.[9]

Barr then proceeded west by way of Battleford early in November to locate and appraise a suitable site for his proposed colony near the Fourth Meridian.[10] When in Battleford, Barr had let it be known that he had all arrangements well in hand and that he intended to have his group located by April so that they would be able to put in a small crop and prepare for the first season. He

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8. "Barr File". Smart to Barr, November 3, 1902.

9. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlements in North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands. Canada for the British. Report of My Journey to the Saskatchewan Valley, N. W. Canada to Select Land for the First British Settlement. (London, 1902).

10. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford, November 5, 1902. The site of the colony was well to the north of the Battle River, although the paper spoke of it as being south of that stream.

inferred that the Government had agreed to reserve eight townships for his party until the spring of 1903.[11]

The Saskatchewan Herald was optimistic about Barr's plans, for it commented:

> "There can be no two opinions as to the suitability of the section chosen if the settlers are given an insight into prairie farming; and Mr. Barr says he will secure this by putting them amongst men accustomed to this work." 12

Barr, meanwhile, had proceeded to Edmonton, although it is not clear what business he conducted there. Almost the only record available of his presence there is a listing in the Edmonton Bulletin in the section entitled "Hotel Arrivals".[13] A second piece of evidence is a reference appearing in a letter from Preston (who was by this time back in London) to Smart mentioning that Lloyd had called upon him to see how matters were progressing.[14] In the course of their conversation, Lloyd informed Preston that he had heard from Barr in Edmonton that ten townships were to be reserved.

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11. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford, November 5, 1902.

12. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford, November 12, 1902. The Herald remarked that Barr had left for Ottawa on November 2 but actually he had gone to Edmonton.

13. Edmonton Bulletin. November 10, 1902. A "J. M. Barr" of London is listed; this is Barr and the "J" may be either a misprint or may arise from the fact that when Barr signed his name, the "I" could be taken for a "J". A "J. S. Barr" is also listed. This may be a brother who later was to send some horses from Calgary to Saskatoon for the party.

14. "Barr File". Preston to Smart, November 21, 1902.

This letter is lost to us. From Edmonton Barr proceeded to Ottawa where he found Smart's letter awaiting him concerning the reservation.

The Land Reservation

Barr's original request had been for a reservation of eight townships for his colony but Smart had informed him that he could not make such a reservation without a more detailed knowledge of his plans and this was the gist of the letter that Barr found awaiting him in Ottawa.[15] At the same time Lloyd had visited Preston to find out how matters were progressing as well as how far Barr had gone in impressing his ideas upon the Department of the Interior. Lloyd may have been anxious because of the many inquiries pouring into Barr's office as well as his own. Preston informed Lloyd that he was not in a position to give any definite information except that nothing was likely to be decided until Barr returned from the west. In response to Lloyd's affirmation that he had heard from Barr from Edmonton about ten townships being reserved, Preston replied that he was quite sure that this had not been done prior to Barr's journey west and that Barr was taking much more for granted than his conversations with Smart had justified. This was evidently a revelation to Lloyd who, Preston noted, was rather taken aback.[16]

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15. "Barr File". Smart to Barr, November 3, 1902.

16. "Barr File". Preston to Smart, November 21, 1902. The letter from Barr to Lloyd is lost to us as mentioned earlier. It may have been a progress report of Barr's journey.

The Saskatchewan Herald had also noted that the Government had agreed to reserve eight townships near the Fourth Meridian.[17] It could only have had such information from Barr himself. It appears that although Barr's discussions with Smart in Ottawa and Smith in Winnipeg on this had arranged nothing definite, Barr had assumed that he would get the reservation.

From what Lloyd had told Preston, Barr appeared to have matters well in hand when he reached Edmonton. It seems that while he was there he made some sort of tentative arrangement with an Edmonton firm to have both rough and dressed lumber floated down the North Saskatchewan River to his proposed settlement; he mentions this in his second pamphlet.[18]

Barr's optimism must have received a temporary setback when he found Smart's letter awaiting him in Ottawa with its warning that a reservation of homestead lands could not be made unless the Deputy Minister had more details.[19] Barr immediately called upon Smart and some earnest discussions must have ensued in which Barr must have

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17. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford, November 12, 1902.

18. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlement in North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands. (London, 1902), 23. It is not known with whom this was first arranged as there were a number of sawmills in Edmonton at the time; it could have been either a mill or an agent. Photographs in the Ernest Brown Collection are captioned as showing lumber rafts being prepared for floating downstream to Lloydminster.

19. "Barr File". Smart to Barr, November 3, 1902.

had to give Smart specific details of his plans. The upshot was that Smart wrote to Barr agreeing to reserve certain townships but at the same time setting definite conditions.[20] The Department would reserve Townships 48 to 49, Range 25 to 28, West of the Third Meridian, Township 50, Range 27, West of the Third Meridian, Township 50, Range 28, West of the Third Meridian, and Townships 49, 50, and 51, Ranges 1 and 2, West of the Fourth Meridian, making a total of sixteen townships. In each township sections 8 and 26 were Hudson's Bay Company lands and could only be purchased. The conditions were: (1) The reservation was to be until February 15, 1903; (2) Barr was to levy no extra charges; no person was to pay more than the ten dollar homestead entry fee; (3) Before February 15 a list of those coming out would be forwarded to the Department and homestead entries would be made out; (4) If there were not enough names, a corresponding portion of the lands would be removed; (5) Remaining lands would be held for persons entered until April 15, 1903, if the list was satisfactory. Barr replied to this on the same date, agreeing to accept the reservation and adding that he was confident he would be able to fulfill all conditions.[21] There was little else that Barr could do for he was in no position to bargain and considered himself lucky to

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20. P.A.C. File 737973, Department of the Interior, Smart to Barr, November 25, 1902.

21. P.A.C. File 737973, Department of the Interior, Barr to Smart, November 25, 1902.

have received a reservation at all; in any event, he had sixteen townships instead of the eight that he had originally hoped for. In his discussions with Barr, Smart may have declared firmly that he expected Barr to live up to these conditions or face cancellation of the reservation. Barr then left Ottawa for England.

In the midst of all these negotiations, there arrived a letter from Lloyd to Smart claiming that Barr had informed him that the Government had reserved ten townships but that this was not enough since he already had 500 names.[22] Smart replied that he was even then concluding arrangements with Barr.[23]

The reaction in Western Canada to Barr's plans had, up to this point, been favourable as far as local papers such as the Saskatchewan Herald were concerned. The mood was one of curious optimism, tempered by many memories of the hardships of settlers in other years. The editorials of the Herald may have been on the whole non-committal, but a letter quoted in the issue of November 12, 1902, was highly optimistic.[24] Its writer, Reverend J. F. Dyke Parker, then Anglican incumbent at Battleford, endorsed Barr when he wrote:

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22. P.A.C. File 737973, Department of the Interior, Lloyd to Smart, November 14, 1902.

23. P.A.C. File 737973, Department of the Interior, Smart to Lloyd, November 25, 1902.

24. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford, November 5, 1902 and November 12, 1902.

> "Mr. Barr seems to have hit the nail right on the head with his plan of peopling the vast valuable lands in our surrounding district. Knowing the country both east and west of the Fourth Meridian, I can fully endorse the good judgement Mr. Barr has shown in selecting the location he has...." 25

The remainder of the letter was simply a eulogy of the land, of the advantages of having others than the colonists near the settlements and such facilities as schools, the promised railway and so on. The writer concluded that he and Barr had discussed the whole scheme on Barr's visit to Battleford.

There were, however, some voices raised in dissent as far as Barr's plans were concerned. One was that of W. J. White of the Department of the Interior, with whom Barr had corresponded earlier. White remarked to Preston that Barr had left for England and that he understood he had secured options on some lands as well as a promise from the Canadian Pacific Railway for a reservation. He also outlined to Preston the reservation that Smart had agreed to hold for Barr. Barr he considered very optimistic but doubted that he would have the success for which he hoped for; White concluded:

> "Barr's propaganda has assumed such magnitude and the many schemes he has in connection with it are so great and multifarious, I am afraid very little will come of it." 26

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25. Rev. J. F. Dyke Parker. Letter to Saskatchewan Herald, published November 12, 1902.

26. "Barr File". White to Preston, December 2, 1902.

Other misgivings voiced at this time were those of T. G. Pearce of Agricola, Alberta.[27] Originally a native of England, Pearce was a successful farmer in the district. He had arrived in Canada as a young man and had been a member of the Red River Relief Expedition of 1869, following which he remained a year at Red River. Subsequently he farmed near Kingston and Parry Sound, Ontario, but finding the soil unsuitable he persuaded a number of families residing there to come with him to the Edmonton district. He arrived in Edmonton in April, 1892, leading the Parry Sound Colonists, as they came to be known.[28] Later he was to undertake immigration work on behalf of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Pearce had been corresponding with a number of people in England who were considering coming to Canada and some of these had mentioned Barr's plans. He inquired of Smart, who put him in touch with Barr.[29] When Pearce perused Barr's plans, he confided to Smart that although Barr had asked for criticisms, he would not have been very pleased with what Pearce had to say. Pearce considered that Barr was not a practical individual and certainly not qualified to

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27. Now Willingdon, Alberta. The name was changed in 1925 in honour of Lord Willingdon, then Governor-General of Canada. Records of Geographic Board of Alberta.

28. Edmonton Journal. February 26, 1927. An account of Pearce's achievements appears therein. It was he who coined the phrase "Sunny Alberta".

29. "Barr File". Smart to Barr, November 21, 1902. Smart merely informed Barr of what Pearce was doing and requested that he get in touch with him.

undertake a project such as he envisioned. Pearce also advised Smart that March was much too early for the settlers to arrive; he recalled his own experiences ten years previously when he arrived in Edmonton in April to find cold, damp weather.[30] Smart replied that he had a good opinion of Barr who he felt was clever and enthusiastic but he agreed with Pearce on the matter of bringing the settlers out too early.[31] Pearce's comments about the early arrival of the settlers prompted Smart to ask Preston to persuade Barr to postpone his sailing date.[32] After some argument, Barr agreed to postpone the sailing date three weeks, that is to March 28 which would mean that even with 24 hours at St. John as well as the train journey to Saskatoon, it would be at least mid-April before the colonists left the end of steel.[33]

It is not known what came of the correspondence between Barr and Pearce or if it even continued. Even if Pearce did communicate directly with Barr again, it is doubtful if the latter would have followed what would have been some sound advice, for Pearce's experience in 1892, apart from the sea voyage, bore a striking parallel to Barr's plans and it would have been easy for Barr to have used this advice to avoid any pitfalls but he

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30. "Barr File". Pearce to Smart. December 2, 1902. The letter from Barr to Pearce is lost to us.

31. "Barr File". Smart to Pearce. December 12, 1902.

32. "Barr File". Smart to Preston. December 12, 1902.

33. "Barr File". Preston to Smart. December 31, 1902.

determined to proceed with his chosen ideas.

Barr's Second Pamphlet

As soon as Barr returned to England he set to work to issue a report to his followers on his journey to Canada and its results. The result was his second pamphlet.[34] This interesting and rather curious document of some twenty-eight pages is in the form of a long and rather rambling letter. Barr may have intended to set it out in a logical form but the result indicates that he simply set down his ideas as they came to him and made little or no attempt at an orderly revision. His opening paragraphs are simply a summary of his journey to Canada, his meetings with Smart and Smith and his visit to the site of the settlement with which, he avers, he was perfectly satisfied. He mentions his meetings with land officials of the Hudson's Bay Company and the railways and does not forget the promise of D. B. Hanna (and indirectly, Sir William MacKenzie) regarding work on the grading of the Canadian Northern. He speaks of his reservation of sixteen townships as tentatively guaranteed by Smart. Barr then launches into a description of the country, particularly of the soil and its products. "The soil is a rich black vegetable loam resting upon a great depth of clay subsoil."[35]

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34. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlements in North-Western Canada on Free Grant Lands. Canada for the British. Report of my Journey to the Saskatchewan Valley, N. W. Canada to Select Land for the First British Settlement. (London, 1902).

35. Ibid. p. 3.

He comments upon the availability of wood as fuel, and the existence of coal measures although he admits seeing coal mined only at Edmonton. He then goes off on another tangent to mention his arrangements with a firm in Edmonton to supply lumber, which would be floated down the North Saskatchewan.

Barr's favourable comments on the climate minimize its unpleasant features; the climate was invigorating and enjoyable and English people who resided in the area suffered less from the cold than they had in England. He even goes so far as to quote the Saskatchewan Herald:

> "In climate the district is highly favoured, blizzards, cyclones and tornadoes being unknown and extremes of heat and cold of rare occurrence." 36

Barr then rambled on about transportation, work and wages, railroad lands, homesteads and homestead regulations and followed this with an exhortation urging the colonists to decide then and there whether or not they wished to join him:

> "Friends...The time has arrived to decide whether or not you are to embrace this special opportunity and join the British Colony. Within ten weeks the party sails." 37

This is followed by details of steamship lines -- with a warning that those destined for his colony may sail only by the Beaver Line -- and a discussion of cost of passage, rail fares,

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36. Ibid. P. 6. No date or number of the Herald is given.

37. Ibid p. 8.

date of departure, Saskatoon, women and children, and Battleford.[38] Then comes his eulogy of Lloyd who, Barr asserts, will come as chaplain to the group and incumbent at the settlement. Here Barr reveals his high opinion of Lloyd -- an opinion that was never to waver. "I predict a high position for Mr. Lloyd in Church Councils in Canada."[39] His prophecy was to prove true.

As far as women and chidren were concerned, Barr felt that they should go with the party except in cases of large families or where health was a consideration. He thought that such families could remain in England and come out in the following year when, he hinted, a second party would arrive.[40]

There then followed more unsystematic details: a library for the settlement, stores, creamery, use of tents, the Canadian Northern, free land, customs, neighbours, Indians, a training home farm (which he claimed was for those wishing to become proficient at farming), his return journey, what sort of effects to take, the classes of people who should go, the proximity of Canadians and Americans to the settlement, those who wished to work for pay, the amount of money to take, the changing of money and taxes. The random order of these makes the reading of this pamphlet tiresome and serves

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38. The items are dealt with in the order in which Barr set them down.

39. Ibid p. 14.

40. Ibid p. 13.

further to reveal Barr as having a facile pen but not a very logical mind. While on his return voyage he met a group of men of an industrial commission that had been sent to the United States, was asked to deliver a lecture to them on the North-West and Emigration, and declared that such men should send a commission to report on North-West Canada and raise a fund to send out and help unemployed Reservists and others, for in doing so they would be doing both England and Canada a service and:

> "they would be rendering an Imperial service helping to bind Canada more closely to the Empire and to neutralize some present tendencies." 41

Barr does not elaborate on the "present tendencies" by which he may very likely be hinting at the influence of the United States but his remarks were aimed at the Imperialist sentiments of those who wished to join his movement; these were in the best Greater Britain tradition.

This Imperialist sentiment sounds a more ringing note in his concluding paragraphs in which he warns that life would not be easy, that he did not desire to paint a rose coloured picture and that there would be difficulties and drawbacks. Then comes a clarion call:

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41. Ibid p. 19.

> "Britons have ever been great colonizers. Let it not be said that we are the degenerate sons of brave and masterful sires." 42

He cautions the colonists about the hard work ahead and the unlikelihood of sudden wealth:

> "Hard work and plenty of it lies before you; more or less of hardship and not seldom privations. You must sometimes sweat and sometimes you may suffer from the cold..... Many of the comforts of England you must leave behind." 43

He warns of possible crop failure, of hail and of sickness and finally concludes:

> "If you are afraid, stay at home -- don't come to Canada. It is a land of brave and conquering men. But if you are honest and brave and intend to work hard, if you propose to lead the temperate and strenuous life, then come and cast your lot with us and we will stand together and win." 44

This pamphlet with its overoptimistic plans has been used by critics of Barr to vilify him. In criticism of it, there is no doubt that he took far too much for granted. He was also very vague as in the section on the training home farm for as one reads this, the question arises whether this was to be in operation when the settlers arrived or whether it would be established soon afterwards. Barr's statements concerning the products of the soil are

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42. Ibid p. 23.

43. Ibid p. 23.

44. Ibid p. 23.

inaccurate, particularly when he speaks of fruit farming. Nor does he mention the long winters and late springs nor the spectre of early frosts. He went at great length into what to take and into money matters but did not dwell at all on what was involved in building a house or sod shack and starting a crop. To have carried out all his schemes he would have had to have men at the site a year ahead to prepare it for the settlers. Finally, as mentioned earlier, the style alone of the pamphlet would lead a discerning reader to conclude that he was not only unsystematic but unbusinesslike.

In defence of Barr it must be said that he did not avoid the issue of hard work. He faced it squarely and honestly when he told his readers that they could expect plenty of it. It is likely that he did not stress this point sufficiently; had he opened his discussion with this point, it would have carried more weight.

There is no evidence in this pamphlet that Barr in any way deliberately set out to cheat the colonists. Some of his claims may have been misrepresentations and he may have misled the colonists but in the main his proposals appeared honest enough although grandiose. The trouble seems to have been that Barr had become so enthused over his plans and the North-West that he let his enthusiasm run away with him.

Further Preparations of the Immigration Branch

With the publication of Barr's second pamphlet, the Canadian Immigration officials became aware that his scheme was not only in earnest but was also gathering momentum. Barr had emphasized this to Smart in January, 1903, noting that his movement had assumed such proportions that it would have been an easy matter to have had as many as six thousand souls in the party. He would, however, have to close the list as he could not cope with so large a number.[45] He remarked that he had already received homestead fees for nearly all the homesteads in his reserve. He then dealt with such details as customs and the necessity of comfort at Saskatoon and requested Smart to approach the Canadian Pacific for train accommodation. He stressed that he was working twelve hours a day and that he had asked Preston for assistance which had been refused. He hoped that he would not be hindered by any refusal of the Government to pay him a bonus for each settler as was done to agents although such bonuses were paid only for those going out as domestics and certain other classes of workers, not for homesteaders. The question of bonuses was to prove a burning one. Barr then ended his communication on a slightly philanthropic note when he said:

> "I beg to say that I am not 'on the make' in this matter but that I wish to use every penny of my commission from the Steamship Company and also my

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45. "Barr File". Barr to Smart. January 26, 1903.

> bonuses from the Government in order that I may make adequate provision for this large party." 46

Whether Barr had any philanthropic feelings or not, he felt very keenly about the matter of bonuses as he had almost no capital of his own.

Barr was becoming concerned that his reserve was almost entirely filled up. Smart at this moment arrived in London on business and was immediately confronted with this fact which Preston had mentioned to W. D. Scott,[47] Superintendent of Immigration, adding that he did not think Barr possessed the qualifications for implementing a plan of the magnitude he envisaged.[48] When the Deputy Minister arrived he seemed impressed by Barr's plans in spite of any misgivings Preston may have entertained. Seeing that matters had progressed as far as they had, he cabled Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior:

> "Reverend Barr's party likely big success names of one thousand settlers with entry fees paid in asks reservation even sections in twenty-two townships adjoining present location fifty miles west Battleford until first May next year will pay entry fee in advance answer if I should arrange." 49

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46. "Barr File". Barr to Smart. Ibid.

47. Canadian Who's Who 1910 (Toronto, 1910). William Duncan Scott, 1861 - ?, had served with the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Manitoba Government, and the Dominion Department of Agriculture prior to becoming Commissioner of Immigration at Ottawa the post he held at the time of Barr's scheme.

48. "Barr File". Preston to Scott. February 12, 1903.

49. "Barr File." Smart to Sifton. February 14, 1903.

A few days later in reply to a query from Scott asking which sections Barr wanted,[50] Smart replied that Barr wished to reserve all townships from Range 25 West of the Third Meridian to Range 8 West of the Fourth, that he would pay entry fees and that he wanted a year's reservation.[51] It was Sifton who retorted to this request that, with such a large movement of population it would be impossible to make such a reservation. Squatters could not be kept off the land and the entry could only be protected for one year. There was land enough for all.[52] Smart considered that Barr would hardly be satisfied with this but although the principal inducement was the exclusion of foreigners, Barr would not object to the presence of Canadians and Americans in one quarter of his townships.[53] Barr had by then some four hundred more names than the original reserve would hold and wanted 35 townships in all. Smart was enthusiastic and even Preston, as if to underline this, informed Scott that Smart considered Barr's project a successful idea particularly since the idea of British settlers only had taken hold.[54]

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50. Scott to Smart. February 17, 1903.

51. "Barr File". Smart to Scott. February 18, 1903. Telegram.

52. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. Telegram, February 18, 1903.

53. P.A.C. Sifton Papers. Smart to Sifton. Telegram, February 20, 1903.

54. P.A.C. Sifton Papers. Preston to Scott. Telegram, February 20, 1903.

Sifton acceeded to Smart's request and made the reservation of three quarters of the homestead land in the townships asked for up until January, 1904, on condition that the first reserve be filled and opened by June 1, 1903.[55] Smart notified Barr of this and added further terms to the effect that half of the reserve was to be entered for within four months and that Barr should deposit with the Department the sum of £3,000 as a guarantee that the lands would be entered for. This deposit would be used for fees in connection with homestead entries.[56] With this Barr had to be content; there is no evidence that he was prepared to contradict it.

Smart was apparently satisfied and even pleased with Barr's plans. To Scott he had confided that he thought Barr should be encouraged as the people had expressed confidence in him by their numbers.[57] He enthusiastically told Sifton that he was gratified by the great interest and that he felt that Barr had discovered something that appealed to the emotions of English settlers -- the resentment felt in England toward foreigners at the time.[58] He considered Barr a clever man and thought he could be used by the Department insofar as

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55. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. Telegram, February 25, 1903.

56. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. February 28, 1903.

57. "Barr File". Smart to Scott. February 19, 1903.

58. P.A.C. Sifton Papers. Smart to Sifton. February 24, 1903.

it was possible. He slyly added that Barr fancied the whole thing was his own doing whereas it had been merely the enthusiasm of the whole movement that swept all before it. Sifton made no comment.

As a final routine preparation, J. G. Turriff, then Commissioner of Dominion Lands, reminded Smart of the regulations concerning the admittance of healthy individuals only.[59] At the same time he wondered if the distance of Barr's proposed settlement from other inhabited areas would not be a hindrance.[60] Smart acknowledged this[61] and passed it to Barr with a covering note to the effect that these regulations were rigidly enforced.[62] There is no record of a reply by Barr but it is likely that he took notice of this.

Preparations of the Canadian Officials in Ottawa and Winnipeg

However enthusiastic Smart and Preston may have waxed about the Barr movement, they were soon to be rudely reminded that such opinions were not universally shared. This rather abrupt reminder came to Smart in the form of a curt telegram from Sifton:

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59. Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1930 (Ottawa, 1930). Canadian Annual Review 1930-31. J. G. Turriff, 1855-1930. Afterwards called to the Senate in 1918. Was member of the House of Commons prior to becoming Commissioner of Dominion Lands in 1898 which position was held until 1904.

60. "Barr File". Turriff to Smart. February 20, 1903.

61. "Barr File". Smart to Turriff. March 3, 1903.

62. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. March 7, 1903.

> "Scott just returned from Winnipeg. No preparations made by Barr's agents to receive his people. No time to lose. Proper preparations must be made or I will cancel arrangement. If representations about means correct money should be cabled Scott with necessary authority and directions. Immediate action necessary." 63

Scott had paid a quick visit to Winnipeg and had very likely discussed Barr's plans with J. Obed Smith, who must have been only too aware of the necessity for action. Barr had apparently been very busy making preparations in England but had seemingly done nothing in Canada since his visit to that country in the autumn of 1902. It also came about that one Charles May had arrived in Winnipeg as an advance agent of Barr. May and Smith had met while both were on their way to Winnipeg from Eastern Canada and Smith formed a favourable opinion of May who was a competent farmer; they intended to discuss the whole matter of Barr's scheme when at Winnipeg. When May arrived in Winnipeg, he found that sufficient funds had not been placed at his disposal by Barr and he was further hampered by no clear instructions.[64]

Smart, taken completely by surprise by this sudden turn of events, replied to Sifton that Barr had already shipped some large tents and had purchased stoves, horses and other items and had sent a representative to Canada and was making all his own

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63. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. February 28, 1903.

64. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February 7, 1903.

preparations.[65] But Sifton was not so easily dissuaded. He ordered Smart to find out who Barr's agent was so that the Department might know what Barr was doing and with whom to deal. He warned Smart that the Department could not afford any risk of this affair becoming a fiasco. Barr was not to put any one off with vague promises; details must be furnished forthwith.[66] Sifton was anxious that no effort be spared to enable his immigration policies to succeed.

Smart again endeavoured to reassure Sifton that Barr's plans were nearly complete,[67] but Sifton refused to be reassured for he bluntly informed Smart that the Department could not locate any proper preparations in Canada on Barr's part and that Barr must furnish details without delay![68] Smart, in outlining the land arrangement to Scott, noted that he thought that Sifton and Scott were becoming unduly nervous about Barr. Even though Sifton had again demanded details, there was no cause for alarm as he would have all the facts.[69] Smart had advised Barr of some anxiety in the Department regarding his arrangements and that Sifton desired full details;

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65. "Barr File". Smart to Sifton. March 2, 1903.

66. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. March 2, 1903.

67. P.A.C. Sifton Papers. Smart to Sifton. Telegram, March 3, 1903.

68. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. Telegram, March 5, 1903.

69. "Barr File". Smart to Scott. Telegram, March 3, 1903.

he wanted a full statement that could be mailed the following day.[70] Barr evidently did not reply for Smart was obliged, a few days later, to repeat this demand more strongly. The Minister had demanded details immediately. He further reminded Barr that it would be necessary for him to deposit promptly the £3,000 guarantee previously arranged. The Department had previously refused similar requests and they must have the fullest justification for this one. There must be no delay as Smart was leaving for the Continent.[71] There is no record of a reply by Barr.

Smart little realized that Sifton and Scott had cause for anxiety. He himself was preoccupied with other matters such as his impending trip to Europe and had little time. Sifton himself was also diverted by the opening of Parliament at this time and left details of preparations for the arrival of Barr's party to Scott.[72] He may have considered that he could depend on Scott to see to it that arrangements were carried out.

Nevertheless, J. Obed Smith had ably kept his superiors in Ottawa informed of how affairs stood. Time was pressing and he wished authority to hire land guides and obtain supplies that might be needed for the convenience of the colonists. There was, he

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70. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. Telegram, March 3, 1903.

71. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. Telegram, March 7, 1903.

72. Canada. House of Commons Debates.

declared, nothing at the settlement site and it would be folly to allow the colonists to venture into the area without a guide.[73] Hence the urgent communications from Sifton to Smart. Unless something were done, the situation could become serious. Barr had proposed to send tents for his party; these were to be forwarded by baggage car to Saskatoon.[74] At Scott's request the Canadian Pacific Railway was to send these on.[75]

Concern about the lack of time was not only noticed by Scott and Smith but was reflected in the editorials of the Saskatchewan Herald. The editor, P. G. Laurie, wrote "Time is passing rapidly and nothing visible has been done towards receiving or forwarding the colonists."[76] He went on to thunder that the Immigration Department, as he termed the Department of the Interior, would have to step in and help the immigrants out of trouble caused by Barr's mismanagement. The first of these charges is not entirely true. Smith, Scott and Colonization Agent Speers and others were at work long before Laurie penned that irresponsible line. His other prophecy was to come true. The Herald had previously noted with dismay the arrival of May at Winnipeg without funds or clear instructions from Barr.[77]

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73. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February 7, 1903.

74. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February 24, 1903.

75. "Barr File". Scott to C.P.R. March 2, 1903.

76. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. March 18, 1903.

77. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. March 11, 1903.

Patrick Gammie Laurie thought well of Barr's scheme at the start but when the details appeared he felt otherwise and considered that he should champion the rights of the colonists. He is therefore portrayed by some, notably Wetton, as a hero.[78] Ironically the people who should have profited from his advice never read his words for they were colonists and when they arrived, it was too late.

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78. C. Wetton. The Promised Land. Lloydminster, 1953.

IV. BARR'S FINAL PREPARATIONS AND THE JOURNEY OF THE COLONISTS TO CANADA

The Collection of Homestead Fees

One of Barr's arrangements with the Department of the Interior was that he would collect homestead fees for his party and pay the money to Preston's office whence it would be transferred to Ottawa. A receipt would be issued and when the individual arrived at the settlement site he would receive his homestead. The Department was agreeable to this for as far as its officials were concerned, Barr was merely an intermediary. Smart had at the outset made it clear that, in the formation of the party and the collection of homestead entries, Barr was to charge nothing over the regular homestead fee of ten dollars.[1] To have done so would have been regarded as a violation of the arrangement he had made with the Department. Barr does not seem to have been too concerned with this for he quite expected to receive the bonuses paid by the Government to immigration agents - and he considered himself one - for bringing certain classes of settlers to Canada, as well as his commission from the steamship company. But Smart had told Preston that the Department was not committed to pay Barr any bonuses.[2] Barr, for his part, had confided

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1. Public Archives of Canada (PAC). File 737973, Department of the Interior. Smart to Barr. November 25, 1902.

2. P.A.C. File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). Smart to Preston. November 24, 1902. Barr's settlers were mainly tradesmen although a few would be farmers and some were labourers. They were not going as domestics (a class for whom bonuses were paid) but would either be taking up farming or practising their trade in some manner on arrival at the settlement.

to Smart that he hoped these bonuses would be forthcoming so that he "would not be handicapped by a refusal on the part of your Department to pay me the usual bonuses."[3] Barr maintained that he needed this money as well as his steamship commissions to "make adequate provision for this large party and so not jeopardize the future of emigration to my native land."[4] There is no record of a reply by Smart; he may have answered verbally or he may have side-stepped the issue entirely. In any event such bonuses when forthcoming were not paid in advance.

Nevertheless, unknown to the Canadian officials, Barr was charging fees over and above the regulation homestead fees. He was levying what he termed an "absentee fee" on those who did not plan to go to Canada with him in 1903 but decided instead to go in 1904. The fee of £1. sterling would hold the homestead for the settler who had already paid his regular fee. Barr had even issued a circular to this effect.[5] The whole thing was contrary to homestead regulations and came to be regarded as a violation of Barr's agreement with the Canadian Government.

As if this were not enough, Barr was charging an additional fee to anyone who wished to settle in his colony but who did not sail by the ship of his choosing. In replying to an inquirer from London, he said:

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3. "Barr File". Barr to Smart. January 26, 1903.

4. "Barr File". Barr to Smart. Ibid.

5. Isaac M. Barr. Pamphlet - Absentee Homesteads (London, 1903). Copy in "Barr File".

> "I shall be very glad to have your son as a member of my party as I am desirous of getting men with a knowledge of Canadian methods amongst the more inexperienced men I am taking out with me. As I am paying my expenses by a commission on the tickets sold to members of my party by the Beaver Line, it will be necessary for him to pay 30/ additional fee as his contribution because he will not be sailing by an Elder-Dempster Co's boat." 6

Just how far this correspondence continued is not known but the inquirer was not entirely convinced by Barr. As Barr's letter hints, the son was familiar with conditions and methods of farming in Canada as he may have been there previously. The father then decided to make inquiries in that country where he may have had friends and he must have directed his queries to Winnipeg for this letter from Barr was shown to none other than J. Obed Smith. Smith immediately had it copied and forwarded to Scott in Ottawa noting that he had been shown it and adding that "it certainly seems extraordinary that he (Barr) should be disposed to charge a fee of thirty shillings as though he had a fence around the reserve to the exclusion of everybody not under his immediate control".[7] Scott showed this to the Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, who requested that Smith keep track of any similar information that he

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6. "Barr File". Barr to H. W. Gladwell, Fenchurch Street, London. February 12, 1903. A copy appears in the file. The name "Gladwell" does not appear on the passenger list of the colonists so either the son did not go or paid the thirty shillings.

7. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February 27, 1903.

might glean in Winnipeg.[8] It appeared that the concern of Sifton, Scott and Smith about Barr and his lack of arrangements was not entirely unjustified.

The Syndicates

Barr at this time was busily engaged in final preparations which entailed such matters as collecting railway and steamship fares, homestead entry fees and the general arrangements for chartering a ship to bear the colonists to Canada.

Barr had, however, realized somewhat belatedly that as there were no buildings of any kind at the site and that as it was some 84 miles from the nearest settlement, something should be done to provide a store at which the settlers could purchase supplies. He further reasoned that such a store must be ready for the settlers on their arrival. Then, he decided, something must be done about transportation to the area as there was no regular transport available. He therefore formed two Syndicates as he termed them, the Stores Syndicate and the Transport Syndicate. The Stores Syndicate, which bore the imposing name of British Canadian Settlement Stores Syndicate in the Saskatchewan Valley, North-Western Canada, was to operate not only a general store but a lumber yard and sawmill as well. Convenience was not the only reason advanced for its formation;

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8. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. March 5, 1903.

one of Barr's main ideas was that all money would be kept within the settlement so that it would be self-contained. This was a naive if impossible idea as money would have to be spent outside to buy supplies for the store and there was nothing to stop a settler from buying from a mail order house if he so desired. Financing of this venture was to be by shares of a total of some £15,000 ($75,000 at that time) divided into 100 founders' shares at £50 each and 10,000 ordinary shares at £1 each. The whole syndicate was outlined in a circular issued together with application forms for founders' and ordinary shares.[9] It listed the holders of founders' shares and set out the minutes of a meeting held in February, 1903, at which Barr had been appointed managing director. The composition of the board of directors was to last two years and only those who had expressed faith in Barr's movement were to be eligible for the directorate. The circular further dealt with routine details such as the signing of cheques, the bank to be used in Canada, and legal services after which it closed with an exhortation to the colonists to send money, upon which forms for the allotment of shares would be issued. From the circular it appeared that the founders' shares had already been largely allotted as the names of the founding members were listed therein.[10] It was also apparent that Barr had placed himself in the position of managing director to insure complete control.

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9. British Canadian Settlement. Stores Syndicate in the Saskatchewan Valley, North-Western Canada. (London, 1903). Copy in "Barr File".

10. In addition to Barr these were: George Douglas, G. H. Tanner, R. Compton, L. M. Penley, H. S. McPherson, H. Statham, J. H. Lineham, C. Lucas, J. White, D. Swan, etc. Douglas, Tanner, Statham, Lucas and McPherson were sent to Canada as an advance party.

The Transportation Syndicate, known as the Saskatoon and Saskatchewan Transport Company, was similarly but at the same time more simply organized with a capital of £3,000 and only four founder members.[11] Shares were to be £1 each and Barr was again managing director and "temporary treasurer". As its name implied, the purpose of this Syndicate was to effect the transport of the settlers' effects from Saskatoon to the settlement site. As with the circular regarding the Stores Syndicate, this one closed with an exhortation for the remittance of funds, in this instance ordinary shares only. These syndicates were really attempts at co-operatives. Little seems to be known how well subscriptions were paid in to them.

There were two other financial "preparations" of Barr's: the Hospital Insurance Scheme and a plan for building and ploughing for late arrivals. In the hospital circular, Barr noted that it was intended to establish one with a trained nurse in charge; it was to have twelve beds and to be taken to the site and erected under canvas after the manner of an army field hospital. Those contributing to this plan would receive an annual ticket on payment of a fee - adults £1 per head per annum, children under fifteen years of age ten shillings per head per annum or, where families of more than five members were insured, there would be a reduction of twenty per cent. Maternity cases would be charged an extra two guineas per week.

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11. Founders were: I. M. Barr, B. H. Belson, F. C. Belson, J. B. Barr.

Otherwise subscribers would receive free treatment. Lloyd was to be chairman of a Board of Directors.[12]

Late arrivals at the settlement could, according to another circular, have buildings erected or ploughing done by paying Barr the necessary money such as for example, £1 per acre for ploughing. Barr urged these to inform him how much they were prepared to spend.[13]

It is not clear how much money Barr received in these ventures; nor is it clear how he intended to carry out all these plans in the short time left before sailing. These circulars were issued in March, 1903, only just before the party was scheduled to sail. What followed was -- and still is -- one of the most baffling aspects of the whole affair and it is still largely unsolved.

Barr's Denial of the Syndicate Managers

In his Stores Syndicate circular, Barr hinted that he was sending an advance party to Canada to purchase supplies, set up the actual store and make other necessary preparations. He had already sent out Charles May as an advance agent to appraise prices of supplies. May came to Winnipeg to call upon Smith and discuss matters with him although it actually appears that he met Smith en route to

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12. Isaac M. Barr. Hospital Insurance Circular. (London, 1903). Copy in "Barr File".

13. Isaac M. Barr. Circular: Re Ploughing. (London, 1903). Copy in "Barr File".

Winnipeg.[14, 15] When May arrived in Winnipeg he found that his own financial resources were not sufficient and that although Barr had promised to pay his expenses, no such payment appeared forthcoming. He cabled Barr about this but was informed that he was not to purchase anything but merely to ascertain sources and prices.[16] Shortly afterwards the advance party of the Stores Syndicate arrived in Winnipeg and called upon Smith and in the discussions that ensued it turned out that they had no more than $5,000 between them. They had been led to believe that further funds would be awaiting them in Winnipeg but nothing was at hand and they decided to start up in business for themselves. They had, they declared, had enough of Barr who, they claimed, had merely made vague promises to them.[17] What was now awaited was the arrival of one W. S. Bromhead who was supposed to be Barr's official financial agent and who was even then on his way. He was a London clerk who had been acting as secretary to Barr, but who had no experience of Canadian business methods.[18] When Scott learned of this, he immediately arranged to have Bromhead stop in Ottawa on his way to Winnipeg.[19] Bromhead did so and in his

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14. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. March 4, 1903.

15. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February 7, 1903. Smith hints that he met May on the way to Winnipeg from Eastern Canada, May having visited England. Smith described May as a successful farmer whom Barr had asked for help.

16. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 10, 1903.

17. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 10, 1903.

18. "Barr File". Smart to Sifton. March 7, 1903.

19. "Barr File". Scott to Agent at St. John. March 10, 1903.

discussions with Scott it soon appeared that he was in the same position as the other emissaries of Barr; he had neither money nor authority but was to report to Barr from Winnipeg. As no agent of Barr's appeared forthcoming, Scott ordered that C. W. Speers, Colonization Agent at Saskatoon, would take charge there when the colonists arrived.[20]

As soon as Bromhead had departed Scott hurriedly consulted Sifton who immediately cabled Smart:

> "Bromhead here has no money and no authority. Department must provide for reception and care of settlers. If Mr. Barr refuses to cable funds will regard it as violation of agreement with him. Better see Barr and bring him to his senses." [21]

Smart was at this time in Europe and it was Preston who replied that Tanner, Statham and Douglas -- the members of the Stores Syndicate, were at Winnipeg with money to purchase stores and that according to Barr, Bromhead's authority only related to Saskatoon and that another representative was leaving for Canada with a large letter of credit.[22] Sifton retorted that the three men in Winnipeg had no money at all. The Department would receive and care for the people insofar as it was able to do so but Barr was responsible for all other arrangements.[23]

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20. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. March 14, 1903.

21. "Barr File". Sifton to Smart. March 14, 1903.

22. "Barr File". Preston to Sifton. March 16, 1903.

23. "Barr File". Sifton to Preston. March 16, 1903.

Barr had repudiated his agents. They had expected that money would be available in Winnipeg but it was not.[24] Then yet another representative was on his way to Canada with a sizeable letter of credit.[25] Barr's behaviour here is certainly difficult to explain. There is, however, a small bit of substantial evidence to suggest that his syndicates may not have been as well subscribed as he had anticipated. When the advance party of the Syndicates left England, Barr had handed George Douglas a letter which outlined his duties and at the same time served as an introduction to the Land Agent of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[26] In it Barr mentions that he provided Douglas with a copy of what he termed the provisional prospectus of the Stores Syndicate. He then indicated that he had sold a considerable number of founders' shares and that he would issue a strong directive in which he would appeal for ordinary shares; this would seem to indicate that the subscriptions were not coming in as well as he had hoped.[27] He also issued instructions for the purchase of stores and supplies. Tanner and Douglas had shown all this to Smith. They then left Barr's service and went into business for themselves and Smith promised to furnish them with

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24. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 10, 1903.

25. "Barr File". Preston to Sifton. March 16, 1903.

26. "Barr File". Barr to Douglas. February 11, 1903.

27. "Barr File". Barr to Douglas. Ibid.

lumber with which to build a small store.[28] These men had each invested £50 in the venture and it is not know if they realized a return on this investment.

Similarly, why was the authority of May and Bromhead cancelled? If Barr expected them to be agents, why did he not furnish money, particularly since a considerable sum must have been spent for their fares to Canada. It would appear that Barr seemed unwilling to delegate authority; he may not have entirely trusted his lieutenants. Most of all he appeared capable of planning but not of implementing as is indicated in the correspondence of Sifton, Scott and Smith. Finally, as he was treasurer and managing director, he clearly intended to keep control in his own hands for the present.

If Barr's behaviour and attitude are puzzling, that of the Department of the Interior, particularly Smart, is more so. Why did not Smart hold Barr to his word as Sifton had demanded? And why did not Sifton insist upon Barr giving him an exact statement of his plans and then hold him to it? Little is known of this official attitude but Sifton, speaking some time later in the House of Commons, noted that the Department would have much preferred a direct approach by the settlers but that they would not do this and preferred to have Barr as their intermediary and that Smart had advised this. Sifton felt that had the Department refused, it could have been taken as a

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28. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 10, 1903.

discouragement to settlement and injurious to those desiring to come in the future.[29] It may be wondered why such an affair could not have been kept private between the Department and Barr but Sifton and Smart may have had in mind Barr's way of committing the Government in print and in any event Sifton was sensitive to criticisms of his immigration policy. Nevertheless, he had instructed his officers to make arrangements without reference to Barr as he doubted Barr's ability.[30]

Meanwhile Bromhead arrived in Winnipeg and had discussions with the members of the Stores Syndicate in an effort to persuade them to work for Barr again, but they would have none of it.[31] He then wired Barr for funds but received instead an order to proceed to Saskatoon to superintend the erection of the tents.[32] Having side-stepped the money issue with Bromhead, Barr informed Douglas that Robbins was sailing the next day and that Bromhead's authority was cancelled.[33] Almost at the same moment the Transport Syndicate members arrived in Winnipeg and they too decided not to continue working with Barr.[34] The situation was confused although Bromhead continued to

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29. Canada. House of Commons, Debates. July 10, 1903.

30. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 10, 1903.

31. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 18, 1903.

32. "Barr File". Barr to Bromhead. March 18, 1903.

33. "Barr File". Barr to Douglas. March 17, 1903. Bromhead's cable to Barr is lost. Both Barr's cables to him and to Douglas were shown to Smith by Douglas.

34. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 18, 1903.

display an almost unshakable faith in Barr and although Scott considered that Barr had made inadequate preparations at best, Bromhead asserted that Barr's plans were better than Scott realized.[35, 36]

To Smith the whole situation was in utter disorder with information coming from so many sources. He thereupon took matters into his own hands and cabled Preston directly, demanding to know the reason for the repudiation of the agents by Barr; at the same time he outlined how matters stood at Winnipeg.[37] Preston replied that Reverend John Robbins had sailed with sufficient money and that both he and Smart were satisfied with arrangements as they had seen letters to merchants in the Winnipeg area ordering equipment and supplies. He begged Smith to delay matters until Robbins arrived, and added that Barr's group were not paupers.[38] Smith was incensed. He could no longer trust either Barr's word or his methods. He immediately informed Scott of his action in cabling Preston and at the same time reiterated the state of matters. The situation was critical, roads were breaking up, no transport was available from the end of the railway to the settlement site and not one dollar had been spent by Barr in this direction. He further noted, with almost a touch of sarcasm, that Barr had cabled the McClary Company to furnish some 500 camp stoves -- which, stormed Smith, was utterly

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35. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. March 14, 1903.

36. "Barr File". Bromhead to Scott. March 14, 1903.

37. "Barr File". Smith to Preston. March 18, 1903.

38. "Barr File". Preston to Smith. No date given.

impractical. Barr could scarcely demand that 500 people buy camp stoves merely because he desired it. Then, having gone to the expense of purchasing one, Smith continued, they would see that an ordinary cook stove was better and would then be burdened with the added expense of one! Everything was at a standstill and he must have authority.[39] A few days later Smith received authority to make reception arrangements for Barr's party.[40]

Smith immediately set to work. First he sent on the tents previously forwarded by Barr. These had arrived at Winnipeg and Smith had ordered them sent on to Saskatoon by baggage car but the railway officials had somehow omitted to do this when requested and Smith was obliged to send them by express.[41] The shipment of these tents appeared to be the only preparation that Barr had done. The skating rink at Rosthern was hired for four months as an immigration hall and a sub-land agent was to be appointed for the actual settlement.[42]

This matter was brought to a head by a difference of opinion between Smith and Bromhead over the homestead entry question. Earlier in the month, J. G. Turriff, Commissioner of Dominion Lands, had given the local agent power to grant entries when the settlers made

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39. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 19, 1903.

40. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. March 23, 1903.

41. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 27, 1903.

42. "Barr File". Smith to Scott Ibid and Scott to Public Works Department, Ottawa. April 2, 1903.

application.[43] Bromhead, on the other hand, asserted that only Barr had the right of allocation of homesteads while some of the members of the group, already in Winnipeg, vowed that they had been told by Barr that they could select whatever homestead they wished. Smith realized that unless this question was settled, there could be two applications for the same homestead. In the end, all entries were to be made by the local agent as Turriff had directed.[44] Scott had sought Smith's opinion at this time concerning a sub-land agent at the settlement site as Turriff had questioned its necessity.[45] Smith replied that a sub-land agent was absolutely essential and the sooner the better; the settlement site was 80 miles from the nearest agent and a sub-land agent could quickly deal with grievances that might otherwise pour into the Ottawa and Winnipeg offices of the Department.[46] Ultimately George Langley of Rosthern was appointed.[47]

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43. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 19, 1903. The arrangement was outlined here.

44. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 25, 1903.

45. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. March 19, 1903.

46. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 20, 1903.

47. "Barr File". Secretary of Department of the Interior to George Langley of Rosthern, letter of appointment March 24, 1903, and Scott to Smith. March 25, 1903.

As Sifton and his colleagues were aware that the majority of the settlers would be totally inexperienced in farming, they deemed it wise to appoint two farming instructors for a short period to acquaint the colonists with Canadian farming methods. Accordingly, at Sifton's request, G. H. V. Bulyea, Minister of Agriculture for the North-West Territories,[48, 49] recommended M. Snow of Wolseley and A. M. Dale of Qu'Appelle, both of whom were successful farmers.[50] Bulyea confided to Scott that such men should themselves have originally been immigrants as the Barr party would be more likely to listen to them than they would to Canadian born farmers and as Snow hailed from Scotland and Dale from England, he considered them good candidates. Smith too had tackled the problem of giving the colonists experience by example; earlier he had expressed his opinion that it would be a sound idea to keep in Manitoba and Eastern Assiniboia all young men not actually needed by Barr's group.[51] He considered that they would gain valuable experience if they could work for farmers in these localities for a season. Inquiries directed to Preston indicated that some 400 were willing to remain in Manitoba and this plan was duly carried out. Their

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48. George Hedley Vickers Bulyea, 1859-1928. Afterwards first Lieutenant Governor of Alberta. W. S. Wallace Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Volume I. (Toronto, 1945), 80. Also records in Alberta Provincial Library.

49. "Barr File". Sifton to Bulyea. March 20, 1903.

50. "Barr File". Bulyea to Scott. April 1, 1903.

51. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 3, 1903.

homestead entries were to be protected for one year.[52]

The Government also completed other essential arrangements. Tents were erected at convenient intervals between Saskatoon and the site, some twenty cook stoves had been ordered, and land guides and a surveyor engaged.[53] All was in an advanced state of readiness by the end of March, 1903. C. W. Speers, the Colonization Agent, who was in charge of arrangements at Saskatoon, stated that nothing more could be done until the arrival of the main party with Barr at its head. Speers stressed the need for practical methods and considered that if Barr concurred with the Government preparations, such agreement could only reflect favourably on both groups.[54]

It was now the beginning of April. The main party of the colonists was en route from England. On April 2, John Robbins, Barr's official agent, arrived in Winnipeg,[55] but even he, it appeared, was hampered in buying supplies for although supplied with funds, he was obliged to agree to pay installments on 125 wagons that he purchased. It also transpired that Barr's brother had purchased some horses near Calgary and shipped them to Saskatoon, but that one carload had died of suffocation on the way.[56] The Canadian Pacific

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52. "Barr File". Scott to Preston. March 6, 1903. Preston to Scott. March 7, 1903. Scott to Smith. March 10, 1903.

53. "Barr File". Scott to Secretary, Public Works Department, Ottawa. March 16, 1903.

54. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. March 30, 1903.

55. "Barr File". Alex Moffatt to Scott. April 2, 1903. Moffatt was an assistant to Smith who was then in Ottawa on business.

56. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 4, 1903.

Railway Land Agents, disgusted with this, met with Speers to discuss the transport situation. At the same time they pledged co-operation and awaited instructions.

Scott was far from satisfied with Barr's arrangements. He thereupon decided to go to St. John with T. O. Davis, M. P. for Saskatchewan, to meet the party and clear matters up.[57] The Department was determined that there would be no failure of this enterprise. In an interview with the Manitoba Free Press, Smith declared that any criticisms were not well founded and that no apprehension need be entertained concerning the ability of the group to look after itself.[58]

There was little that could be done now. The ship bearing the colonists was on her way.

Barr's Final Preparations

While Smith, Scott and their colleagues were working with great haste to prepare for the arrival of the colonists, Barr in his turn was endeavouring to complete his preparations prior to sailing. In March, 1903, he had issued a further series of circulars on the availability of railway lands, railway and sailing instructions and what to do on arrival at St. John. In addition he outlined the

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57. "Barr File". Scott to Speers. April 6, 1903.

58. "Manitoba Free Press". Winnipeg. March 30, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

procedure to be followed on reaching Saskatoon. The settlers were all to be conveyed in one ship as was their baggage. He was particularly insistent that they proceed directly to Saskatoon and not stop at Winnipeg and that they should buy all supplies at a temporary store to be set up at Battleford rather than from what he termed the "unscrupulous merchants" there. He may not have wanted any association with Smith and other officials of the Department of the Interior at Winnipeg nor may he have desired that the main body of his settlers have anything to do with those members of the Stores Syndicate party who had repudiated him.[59] He had warned them and others in this advance party not to invest money until he had arrived at Saskatoon but they had not only disregarded his advice, but had disagreed with Bromhead over Barr's authority; consequently they may not have worried unduly over his admonitions.[60] Finally Barr exhorted all who had any financial obligations to him to remit the money immediately adding that he had to have all financial affairs in order before he left. His closing trumpet call was, "Let us take possession of Canada. Let our cry be 'CANADA FOR THE BRITISH'."[61]

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59. Isaac M. Barr. British Colony for the Saskatchewan Valley - Pamphlet issued to all settlers. (London, March, 1903). Another pamphlet entitled Railway Lands stated that application could be made to him for these lands, a receipt would be issued which could be exchanged for a form issued by the railway. Copies in "Barr File".

60. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. March 19, 1903.

61. Isaac M. Barr. Ibid.

The pamphlet quoted the sailing date as March 25 but this was postponed to March 31. Sifton and Smart had been anxious about Barr's group sailing too early and arriving before the onset of the fine late spring weather.[62] Sir Alfred Jones, Chairman of the Elder-Dempster Company, had expressed his hope to Smart that the venture would be a success and Smart replied that the Department was determined that it should be.[63, 64] He alluded to Barr's protestations over the late sailing date and Jones informed him that minor repairs to the ship would necessitate a week's delay and so the date was changed, much to the relief of Scott and Smith, for it gave them more time for preparations.[65]

The Journey

The great smoke grimed train shed that is Euston Station, London, was the scene of the departure of the Barr Colonists at midnight on March 30, 1903. It is easy to visualize the scene with all its confusion -- the colonists from all walks of life and all parts of Britain, their baggage with relatives and friends at the platforms to wish them well. The Evening News and Evening Mail gave an account of the midnight departure from the three

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62. "Barr File". Preston to Smart. December 30, 1902.

63. "Barr File". Jones to Smart. March 6, 1903.

64. "Barr File". Smart to Jones. March 7, 1903.

65. "Barr File". Jones to Smart. March 7, 1903.

platforms where were posted signs "Rev. I. M. Barr's Special Train for Liverpool for S. S. 'Lake Manitoba'". The paper continued:

> "For three hours before the hour of departure last night they came pouring into the Station Yard with their goods and chattels and a host of friends to bid them farewell." 66

The paper noted that the crowd was in good spirits and that there must have been some 4,000 souls at the station. At midnight the trains steamed away for Liverpool where the colonists embarked on the "Lake Manitoba" which had been chartered for the voyage across the Atlantic.

The "Lake Manitoba" was owned by the Beaver Line which in turn was a wholly owned subsidiary of the Elder-Dempster Company. This line, normally associated with the West African trade, had been operating on the North Atlantic for some years. In 1898 it acquired the Beaver Line formed by Canadian interests in 1875. In 1903 the Elder-Dempster steamers on the North Atlantic were sold to the Canadian Pacific which continued to operate them.[67]

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66. Evening News and Evening Mail. London. March 31, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

67. C. R. Vernon Gibbs. Passenger Liners of the Western Ocean (London, 1957), 302-303. Also W.T.R. Preston. North Atlantic Steamship Combine (Ottawa, 1924). This last reference was prepared as a report to the Canadian Parliament. It stated that all major North Atlantic steamship companies operated a price fixing agreement on fares, particularly steerage. Elder-Dempster would have none of this upon which Canadian Pacific drove them out by buying the Beaver Line ships. This combine is not to be confused with the International Mercantile Marine which was a combine financed by Cornelius Vanderbilt and J. P. Morgan to corner the North Atlantic trade - see Gibbs p. 252.

In 1903 the "Lake Manitoba" was a new ship, having been completed two years previously. She was 469 feet long and of 9,650 tons displacement. Her passenger accommodation at this time is not known but under subsequent Canadian Pacific ownership, it was 150 cabin class and 1,000 steerage.[68] Earlier ships of the Elder-Dempster's Beaver Line fleet are reported as accommodating 100 first class passengers, eighty second class and 500 steerage, so it is not unlikely that the "Lake Manitoba" then could carry at least 500 steerage although she was to carry many more in the Barr party.[69]

Harry Pick in his fictional account of the Barr Colony gives in his preface a good description of the steerage accommodation for the men aboard the "Lake Manitoba".[70] The cabins where the men

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68. C. R. Vernon Gibbs. Ibid 302-304. There were two ships named "Lake Manitoba", the first being built in 1880 for the Beaver Line and wrecked five years later. The second -- and the one that carried the colonists -- appeared in 1901 and survived under C.P.R. ownership until she was scrapped in 1924.

69. C.R. Vernon Gibbs. Ibid 25, 304, 365. Steerage was an open berth system wherein men and women occupied large dormitory cabins in which they slept side by side in tiered bunks. At first such accommodations were very primitive, being airless compartments often below the waterline and often converted holds, although conditions improved by the 1890's. Even in 1903 it was still the usual practice to pack as many people in as possible and this state of affairs ended only in 1912 with the "Titanic" disaster. The only difference between steerage and third class was that the latter meant a cabin.

70. Harry Pick. Next Year. (Toronto, 1928). Pick's story is fictional although his characters are drawn from life. His preface merely fills in background details and is not always accurate. His account of the crossing, however, is reliable.

berthed -- one fore and one aft -- were two converted holds into which as many individuals were crowded as was possible. The decks and bulkheads were whitewashed. The sanitary conveniences according to Pick, defied description; this is perhaps an overstatement but certainly all the facilities left much to be desired. Pick waggishly mentions the scarcity of lifeboats but with two clergymen on board the colonists would be quite safe if there had been a shipwreck! The women were only slightly better accommodated than the men.

The voyage to St. John was, on the whole, relatively uneventful, although there were some scuffles among the men which would be normal with so many crowded into so small a space. Wetton gives an account of some trouble over the food. She also relates an incident -- which appears nowhere else -- wherein Barr was supposed to have bought up all the ship's flour and was only persuaded by Lloyd to sell it to the colonists at the price he paid for it; in short that Barr was "on the make".[71] There were, however, complaints about the food, the drinking water and the overcrowding in the steerage.[72] The ship was carrying far too many people for her size

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71. C. Wetton. The Promised Land. (Lloydminster, 1903). This account is of little use to the serious researcher other than to outline the chronological details of the Barr Colony. The author does not give the sources of her story although she alludes to the Saskatchewan Herald and to the memoirs of Lloyd which appeared in 1940 in the Lloydminster Times.

72. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 17, 1903. This is a report to Smith and contains testimonials about the accommodation on the ship. All agreed on poor steerage accommodation and bad drinking water in all classes.

and it was even necessary to hire some steerage passengers to help the crew. Nevertheless, while the conditions aboard the "Lake Manitoba" left much to be desired, they were a vast improvement over the state of affairs of a few decades previously when many a ship -- particularly sailing ships -- had literally to be bailed all the way across to keep her afloat![73]

On April 11, 1903, the "Lake Manitoba" docked at St. John where special trains awaited the colonists; one was exclusively for baggage. A hectic time ensued while the passengers disembarked and the baggage was unloaded. Awaiting Barr on the dock were W. D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, and T. O. Davis, M. P. for Saskatchewan, who had come to discuss the transport problem with him.[74] Scott had proceeded with his own arrangements by asking Smith if 100 oxen could be obtained for freighting and if so, Barr was to purchase them. Barr was to proceed to Ottawa with Scott and Davis to discuss the whole matter with Smart. Unfortunately, no record of these discussions exists; they most likely were verbal, interesting, and at times, heated. The Government was determined to hold Barr to his word. While in Ottawa, Barr wired Robbins at Saskatoon informing him that he had secured two doctors in Montreal for the

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73. Edwin C. Guillet. The Great Migration. (Toronto, 1963). Some graphic accounts of unspeakable steerage accommodation, storms and disease are given here.

74. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. April 11, 1903.

settlement, that one dollar extra would be charged for freight, and that Robbins would be advised of the freight rates. Finally he requested 25 teams of oxen to be hired at $3.00 per day all found.[75] Smith had already advised Scott that teams could be hired at this rate.[76]

The journey of the colonists from St. John to Saskatoon passed almost without serious incident. The train was in four sections and on each one travelled an official from the Department of the Interior to help the colonists and to report later from Ottawa. On the first train an unfortunate accident occurred when a passenger attempted to leave the train while it was in motion and fell between it and the platform. He suffered a crushed leg and was taken to hospital in Sudbury where he later succumbed.[77] On the second train a baby was born and both mother and child reached Saskatoon safely.[78] On the whole the settlers were well pleased with the arrangements of both Government and the Canadian Pacific. The main target of complaints was the steamship company. Smith himself met each train at Winnipeg and noted with satisfaction that cheers were given for the Government and railway but that the

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75. "Barr File". Barr to Robbins. April 15, 1903. Barr must have sent these with Scott literally looking over his shoulder; handwritten originals survive and the writing resembles Scott's but not Barr's.

76. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. April 13, 1903.

77. "Barr File". Johnston to Scott. April 23, 1903. Johnston and R. W. Hillyard were travelling agents. Two more were on the other sections but their names are not known.

78. "Barr File". Hillyard to Scott. April 23, 1903.

Elder-Dempster Company was bitterly criticized. At Winnipeg sufficient supplies were put aboard each train to last the colonists for two days after reaching Saskatoon.[79]

Smith's action here was occasioned in part by word of a number of sensational and pessimistic newspaper accounts that had appeared to the effect that the colony was a failure and the people were in desperate straits. The Minneapolis Journal commented on April 13 that Barr was to have an all British settlement but that one quarter of the land was to be given to Canadians and Americans -- a reference to the agreement of Smart and Barr in March. It considered it a bad thing to turn Englishmen loose upon the plains.[80] Two days later the same paper reported that failure was definitely overtaking the colony, that many were considering returning and that demoralization was rampant.[81] The newspaper only despised British settlers but praised Americans. The Telegram of Winnipeg took a less pessimistic attitude although it asserted that many were thinking of returning.[82] Smart had alerted Smith of the rumours current about the failure of the colony;[83] he had even received a cable from Preston informing him of a Reuter dispatch from Winnipeg to the effect that the scheme had

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79. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. April 18, 1903.

80. Minneapolis Journal. April 13, 1903. Clippings in "Barr File". These were forwarded to Smart by the Canadian agent in that city.

81. Minneapolis Journal. April 15, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

82. Telegram. Winnipeg. April 14, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

83. "Barr File". Smart to Smith. April 18, 1903.

failed.[84] Smith promptly retorted that the colonists had reached Saskatoon safely on April 17 and that the only failure was that of Barr's enterprises![85] By these he referred to the Stores and Transport Syndicates. Smart advised Preston of this in order that he might show the telegram to the manager of Reuters and have the dispatch withdrawn;[86] Preston later pointed out that this dispatch had created a bad impression in Europe.[87] Smith had notified Smart that all was in readiness at Saskatoon and that tents had been erected at points on the trail 18, 35, 50 and 75 miles west of that city.[88] The arrival was now awaited.

On April 17, 1903, the trains bearing the Barr Colonists steamed into Saskatoon. In the words of R. W. Hillyard:

> "At Saskatoon a never to be forgotten sight cheered the hearts of many weary people. On the high ground near the town were spread out numberless tents and large pavillions with many flags floating from the poles of the tents." [89]

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84. "Barr File". Preston to Smart. April 18, 1903.

85. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. April 18, 1903.

86. "Barr File". Smart to Preston. April 18, 1903.

87. "Barr File". Preston to Smart. April 21, 1903.

88. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. April 18, 1903.

89. "Barr File". Hillyard to Scott. April 23, 1903.

The colonists had reached the end of steel but not of their journey for 170 miles lay between them and their goal and it was 170 miles of rough prairie trail and muskeg, with only the town of Battleford half way between. At Saskatoon they would have an opportunity to secure transport and to sort themselves out for this last lap. But events were to occur at Saskatoon and later at Battleford that would have a bearing upon the future of the Colony and the fortunes of Isaac M. Barr.

V. THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN BARR AND THE COLONISTS

Nothing survives of Barr's reaction when he learned that the Government were apprehensive of his failure to carry his plans to completion. Apart from assurances from Preston and Smart to Sifton and Smith[1] in reply to their urgent communications and the hurried communications between Barr, Bromhead and Douglas, nothing exists.[2] He may not have been unduly disturbed by press reports of failure of his enterprise nor by other accounts of lack of preparations at Winnipeg or Saskatoon and may even have felt confident that all would be put right when he arrived at Saskatoon. It must, then, have been no small surprise to find W. D. Scott and T. O. Davis awaiting him at the end of the gangway at St. John, New Brunswick, and he must have been entirely taken aback at being peremptorily ordered to Ottawa to iron out matters with Smart. He was at last face to face with the situation but unfortunately nothing survives of the discussions with Smart. Even if Barr was by now well acquainted with his own lack of preparations, he was not prepared for what was to follow at Saskatoon.

The colonists had reached Saskatoon on April 17 and were not in a pleasant mood after their long journey. They complained

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1. Public Archives of Canada. File 194804, Department of the Interior, hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File". Smith to Preston. March 18, 1903.

2. "Barr File". Barr to Bromhead. March 18, 1903. Barr to Douglas. March 17, 1903.

that they had been treated shamefully on the voyage to St. John and that the ship was uncomfortable.[3] Then, on arrival at Saskatoon they discovered that meals were to be $1.00 at Barr's restaurant tent but to avoid this, Smith had dispatched cars of the Boarding Department of the Canadian Pacific Railway to serve meals at 45¢.[4] There was no transport available for the remainder of the journey since the Transport Syndicate had collapsed. The only signs of preparation were those of the Government such as the tents which had been erected. The only visible signs of preparedness by Barr were the few marquees that he had set up. The colonists were therefore highly dissatisfied with Barr's lack of readiness but were pleased with the railway and Government.

The Saskatchewan Herald noted that although the colonists had arrived at Saskatoon and found no transport available, Barr continued to assure them that all was well.[5] But it was otherwise. Discontent was already evident among the settlers who were furious over the confused manner in which their baggage had been handled, for it had literally been dumped onto the open prairie beside the track in no order whatever and some wild melées followed as each tried to claim his own. Rumours were also afoot that Barr was receiving a commission from every financial undertaking and that he had entered into an agreement with the local merchants that he would receive a percentage

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3. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 30, 1903. Report.

4. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. April 18, 1903.

5. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. April 22, 1903.

on the price of goods sold to the colonists . The discontent erupted into the holding of indignant meetings with speakers choosing any vantage point available from which to air their views, often in belligerent and at times unprintable terms. For a time there were violent threats and the settlers were in a rebellious state.[6] When Barr arrived at Saskatoon, he was promptly assailed about the baggage as well as other affairs.[7] It was a state of affairs that should not have existed in a civilized country although some colonists may have merely been releasing pent up feelings.[8]

On April 22, Speers, after some difficulty, managed to convene a mass meeting of the colonists and it was with equal difficulty that he persuaded Barr to attend it. The meeting was, according to one observer, both violent and interesting.[9] Barr faced a hostile audience but nevertheless he commenced to address it. He warned the settlers of the danger of starting alone for the settlement site, although it is difficult to see what real danger there was. In spite of many interruptions and considerable heckling, he denied bidding up the prices of supplies, but as he proceeded it was clear that the

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6. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 30, 1903. Also George E. Lloyd, The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times, September 5, 1940.

7. George E. Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Ibid. This incident also appears in C. Wetton, The Promised Land. (Lloydminster, 1953).

8. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 23, 1903.

9. Minneapolis Journal. April 23, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

meeting was becoming out of hand. Each time Barr spoke he was drowned out by counter accusations. To the claims that he had received a commission on steamship fares, he countered that this was in order as it was. A taunt was hurled from the crowd that he was being guarded by the North-West Mounted Police; to this Barr simply shouted "Falsehood". Accusations and counter-accusations continued to fly. Finally the climax came when Barr called one colonist a liar. It is not clear just why he did but it may have been in an incident related by Lloyd.[10] The settler in question held up a letter said to have been written by Barr in which he requested all merchants of Saskatoon to give him a percentage on goods sold to the settlers. When Barr asked to see the letter, the holder refused to pass it to him but passed it to Lloyd instead. Lloyd could only say that the writing resembled that of Barr. Barr shouted that he would not allow the colonist to proceed to the settlement. Pandemonium broke loose for a few minutes and it seemed as if there would be a riot. Finally someone shouted for Lloyd who addressed the crowd and told them to go on up to the settlement site and get on their land.[11]

Speers only restored order with difficulty and managed to effect some abatement of feelings. It would be impossible now to restore any confidence in Barr.[12] Nevertheless, Speers managed to

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10. George E. Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times. September 5, 1940.

11. Ibid.

12. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. June 17, 1903. This was a later report.

obtain an open resolution from 1,500 of the colonists thanking both the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific for the care given them.[13] This served to divert the minds of the colonists from their troubles if nothing else.

On April 25 Speers again met the colonists to reassure them and again urged them to make a start for their land as there was little to be gained in remaining, particularly if they had their outfits ready. He also cautioned them about adverse utterances in letters to friends and relatives in England, warning them that any unfavourable criticism would have a serious effect upon immigration work there. At this time he inquired of them how many were short of money and as there were a considerable number, he established an employment bureau. He ultimately managed to find work for some 150 to 200 persons in the district as well as at Regina and Moose Jaw, and Smith was able to secure a reduced railway rate for them.[14] Subsequently the farm instructors, Dale and Snow, began their lectures which were at first well received although Speers felt that he could detect a preference among the settlers for their own ideas.[15]

The trouble had subsided for the time being. Speers in reporting to Smith considered it unwise to antagonize Barr although he felt that the latter should have admitted making commissions if such were honestly gained; instead he had endeavoured to bluster his

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13. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 28, 1903.

14. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 30, 1903.

15. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 28, 1903.

way out by denials.[16] A more amicable feeling was now prevailing and the Government officials continued to work with Barr albeit cautiously. By April 25, as a result of the urging of Speers, most were on their way to Battleford; two days later some two hundred and fifty teams were moving.[17, 18] The Government had made good preparations; the route was constantly patrolled, competent teamsters were in charge, and provisions were at hand for any emergency. As the Government officials extended their control, matters improved and by April 30 Speers was able to report that many had arrived at Battleford. They were making the journey fairly well considering the state of the roads which was fair for that time of the year.[19] It was planned that they should rest at Battleford for a day before continuing.

Further trouble appeared imminent when Barr suddenly refused to pay the freighters contracted by him a daily rate and instead insisted on so much per 100 pounds.[20] Smith on hearing this reminded Speers that Barr had contracted to work on a per diem basis with the freighters and quoted a telegram from Barr authorizing such an agreement and adding that since Barr initiated it he must adhere thereto.[21] Ultimately a more satisfactory arrangement was drawn up between the Government and Barr whereby those settlers making use of this service

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16. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. Ibid.

17. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 25, 1903.

18. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. April 30, 1903.

19. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 30, 1903.

20. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. April 22, 1903.

21. "Barr File". Smith to Speers. April 24, 1903.

paid $2.00 per 100 pounds and the Government and Barr each paid 75¢ to make up the balance.[22] Any expense incurred by the Department over and above this was to be charged to Barr.[23]

The colonists assembled at Battleford to prepare for the remaining 84 miles of the journey. But now unbeknown to all more unrest was brewing for it was here that was to occur the decisive event in the fortunes of the colony - the repudiation of Barr.

The Repudiation of Barr by the Colonists

By April 30 the vanguard of the colonists had reached Battleford where they were met by the Dominion Lands Agent, R. F. Chisholm. Barr was still at Saskatoon when these first settlers arrived at Battleford to be joined by many more each day. Chisholm observed a rumbling of discontent which was again threatening to flare into open mutiny against Barr. The settlers were anxious to press on to their own lands but Chisholm endeavoured to persuade them to remain at Battleford and await the arrival of Barr with the remainder of the colonists so that a harmonious and unified attitude could prevail. He may also have felt that it would be preferable if all the settlers proceeded to their lands together but his advice was coldly received; the very mention of Barr's name aroused resentment.[24]

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22. "Barr File". Contract signed between Speers on behalf of the Government and Barr. April 28, 1903.

23. "Barr File". Smith to Speers. April 24, 1903. Ibid.

24. "Barr File". Chisholm to Smart. May 6, 1903.

Barr's commissions were not the only things that annoyed the colonists. The land question was at this moment uppermost in many people's minds. Those who had joined Barr's movement early had been informed that homesteads would be allotted on a "first come, first served" basis and that they could locate wherever they wished. But Barr had now told them that he and only he had the right to allocate the lands. This brought the dispute into the open. Barr had by this time arrived in Battleford and was furious when he learned that Chisholm had told the settlers that they could choose their own land.[25]

Nor was this all. At a large meeting in Battleford, Barr was again assailed by the colonists over the question of commissions. Again he defended himself by denials and an assertion of his rights to the steamship commissions. This time he bluntly told the colonists that whether or not he received any commissions was nobody's business but his own.[26]

A serious state of affairs was in evidence when on May 1 a petition was signed by 140 colonists calling for the presence of James Clinkskill, M. L. A., to address them. Clinkskill was not only a member of the Territorial Legislature but owned stores at both Saskatoon and Battleford and had early gained a reputation among the colonists for honest dealings. The meeting was called for May 1 in

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25. "Barr File". Chisholm to Smart. May 6, 1903.

26. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. May 6, 1903.

the restaurant tent and the Government who owned the tent had given permission. No sooner had the meeting convened than Barr stormed into the tent and demanded a halt to proceedings. He shook his fist at Clinkskill and ordered him out of the tent, shouting that Clinkskill, being a Conservative, had called the meeting to gain party advantage. Strangely enough, not one of the colonists present interceded on behalf of Clinkskill.[27]

The fat was in the fire! But more trouble was to come. By now the colonists were milling around the office of Land Agent R. F. Chisholm, demanding their homesteads. Barr continued to assert what he regarded as his sole right to allocate these while Chisholm, acting on instructions from Smart, retorted that the settlers could locate where they pleased. He further informed Barr that Smart had advised him that the land was for Barr's people and not merely for Barr to dispose of as he saw fit.[28] Barr had already bombarded Smart with telegrams declaring that not only did he have the right of allocation but that he had to remember the absentees who had not yet left England and that the land officials of the Hudson's Bay Company were interfering with him.[29] Smart seems to have been unmoved by this for he did not alter his instructions to Chisholm.

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27. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. Ibid.

28. "Barr File". Smart to Chisholm. May 4, 1903.

29. P.A.C. Department of the Interior. File 739773. Smart to Barr and Barr to Smart. (Series of telegrams). May 4, 1903.

It now appeared as if there would be open conflict between Barr and the Government. Barr's attitude now became abusive. On May 6 he stormed into Chisholm's office, accompanied by a number of the colonists. He blustered to Chisholm that his people were to take out homesteads in order of payment and that was that. Some of those in the group in their turn pointed out to Chisholm that the attitude of Barr had cause them hardship as well as inconvenience as they had been unable to get to their land. Chisholm again told Barr that it was not for him to determine the use or allocation of the land. At this Barr unloosed at Chisholm a torrent of vituperation that, as Chisholm later remarked to Smart, "disgraced his linen" (by which he meant his cloth).[30] Then turning to the group of colonists present Barr shouted at them that they were both liars and troublemakers. At this Chisholm interjected that they were good honest people and deserved a fair hearing. He told them not to worry about what Barr had said but to select their homesteads and go to them. He then icily informed Barr that he was utterly distrusted by the colonists. At this Barr threatened to withdraw from the whole affair, at which Chisholm, to call his bluff, retorted that if he did it would be all to the good. At this Barr became apologetic.[31]

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30. P.A.C. File 739773. Department of the Interior. Chisholm to Smart. May 9, 1903. This was a report on the whole affair.

31. P.A.C. File 739773. Department of the Interior. Chisholm to Smart. Ibid.

Chisholm, however, did not allow the matter to rest there; to avoid any future misunderstanding, he wrote to Barr the same day telling him that independent settlement would be encouraged and that settlers could choose whatever homestead suited them. He bluntly told Barr (whom he addressed with immense civility as "Reverend Sir") that he had totally misconstrued his position and had overreached himself. He concluded that the homestead regulations were known to all and it was not for Barr to contravene them.[32]

Unknown to Chisholm, Barr at this moment telegraphed Smart accusing Chisholm of allowing squatters on to his reserve and reiterating his demand that Smart recognize his right to the reserve.[33] Smart merely passed this on to Chisholm who replied that Barr was wrong. An open conflict would now be averted, he added, since Barr had abandoned his bullying and coercive attitude. The colonists themselves seemed less defiant and Barr himself had left for the settlement that afternoon, apparently well satisfied. Chisholm suggested that the North-West Mounted Police should send some men to the settlement to maintain order and on May 10 Inspector Griesbach sent a detachment.[34]

Chisholm also advised the land officials of the Hudson's Bay Company that the colonists should not yet settle on the Company's lands even if they had applied for them through Barr; rather they should make

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32. P.A.C. File 739773. Department of the Interior. Chisholm to Barr. May 6, 1903.

33. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. May 6, 1903.

34. P.A.C. File 739773. Department of the Interior. Chisholm to Smart. May 9, 1903.

application direct to the Company land agents.[35] He hastily advised Smart of what lay behind Barr's telegrams, which was that Barr was displeased over his informing the colonists that they could settle where they pleased. He again noted that he had asked the colonists to remain in Battleford until Barr arrived but to no avail.[36]

Barr had left Battleford for the settlement seemingly satisfied with arrangements concerning the homesteads but more trouble awaited him there. Many settlers had now arrived and were disappointed over the allotment of the homesteads and were annoyed to find that most of the best homestead land had been taken up in some instances by absentees. The sub-land agent, George Langley, advised them to exercise their own choice even if it meant settling outside the original reserve.[37] The now independent Stores Syndicate had opened for business but the colonists were infuriated at what they regarded as outrageous prices charged there: flour was $6.00 per bag, potatoes $3.60 per bushel, and oats $1.25 per bushel.[38] As a result, a number of settlers had returned to Battleford. Barr, seeing matters in a state of confusion, returned to Battleford and telegraphed Smart, demanding more surveyors and accusing the Government land guides of being incompetent and asserting that the failure of his settlers to start their crops

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35. "Barr File". Smart to Chisholm. May 6, 1903. Chisholm acted on instructions from Smart.

36. "Barr File". Chisholm to Smart. May 6, 1903.

37. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. May 27, 1903.

38. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. Ibid.

was due to this. He also urged Smart to press MacKenzie and Mann to have work on the railway grade of the Canadian Northern start forthwith.[39] Smart's reaction was to notify Chisholm, but not Barr, that he was sending three surveyors to the settlement to assist in the locations.[40] Smart was well aware that Barr's mismanagement had caused the confusion.

For Barr trouble appeared to arise from all sides. The colonists were now well aware of the failure of his financial arrangements and were pursuing him in an effort to force him to refund the money that they had paid to him. This occurred all the way along the trail between the settlement and Battleford as Barr returned.[41] J. Hanna McCormick in his book, Lloydminster, Five Thousand Miles with the Barr Colonists, recounted one incident where Barr was forced to refund money to one determined settler at the point of a revolver.[42] This apocryphal incident -- related by McCormick but nowhere else -- portrayed a frantic Barr desperately thumbing through his receipts for a copy of the item concerned and handing over the cash with the irate colonist standing over him, pistol pointed unerringly at him. The colonists bore Barr further antagonism over the absentee land fee which, as

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39. "Barr File". Barr to Smart. May 18, 1903. Telegram.

40. "Barr File". Smart to Chisholm. May 22, 1903. Telegram.

41. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. May 20, 1903.

42. J. Hanna McCormick. Lloydminster. Five Thousand Miles with the Barr Colonists. (London, 1924). It is doubtful if the author saw this incident first hand. In any event the owner of the weapon probably had it confiscated by the North-West Mounted Police once the story spread.

Smart had noted, was a direct violation of Barr's earlier agreement with the Department of the Interior.[43] Why, asked the colonists, should some of the best land be held for people who were not there? Even Smart could not hold a specific piece of land for an absentee under such conditions although an entry could be protected if the entrant had good and sufficient reasons. Why, demanded the settlers, should Barr accept £1.0.0 from absentees, some of whom may have been his friends, and hold it for them whilst they remained in England and those at the settlement had to take what they could?

As a result of these grievances, the colonists were now determined to rid themselves of Barr. They had approached Lloyd asking him to be their leader but at first he refused on the grounds that he was only their chaplain and paid by the Colonial and Continental Church Society. But the colonists persisted and he finally agreed to serve but only if a committee of twelve was appointed.[44] On May 17 at a large and stormy meeting at Battleford the colonists passed a unanimous resolution replacing Barr as leader by Lloyd and the committee of twelve.[45] While the meeting was in progress, Barr arrived at Battleford

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43. "Barr File". Smart to Smith. May 5, 1903. Also Smart to Barr. November 25, 1902.

44. George E. Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times. September 26, 1940; letter to Colonial and Continental Church Society from Britannia, N. W. T. No date for this letter is given but it is included in the Society's Annual Report for 1904.

45. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. Reports. May 27, 1903, and June 17, 1903.

and a delegation went to the hotel to acquaint him with what had occurred. Barr was even then engaged in an argument with Mr. Secord of Edmonton, who was demanding payment for potatoes delivered to the colony. The minute Barr saw the delegation, he realized that more trouble was in store for him. When the committee members informed him of the turn of events he turned upon them in anger, calling them ruffians and declaring that his own life was in danger. The delegation demanded the records of his financial transactions and after some heated argument, signed an agreement with him by which they took over control of everything.[46] Even then the committee did not have complete control of affairs for it was soon apparent that they could not work without Barr. People continued to demand money from him but he had to refuse their requests since the committee now held the books and would not allow him access to them.[47] The books were in such disorder that the committee could not locate the proper receipts. Affairs were now at an impasse with considerable squabbling taking place within the committee.

While affairs stood thus, C. W. Speers arrived on the scene a few days after the meeting. He had come on instructions from Ottawa for when Smith had learned of the change in leadership he had notified Scott, adding that Lloyd had demanded that Speers assume charge.[48] Scott's first reaction was that the Department should have

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46. George E. Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times. September 26, 1940.

47. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. Reports, May 27, 1903, and June 17, 1903.

48. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. May 17, 1903.

nothing to do with the colonists' selection of a leader and that Speers should merely assist in seeing them properly located.[49] Later, however, he considered that it would be as well for Speers to proceed to Battleford and take such steps as he thought necessary to insure the success of the colony, regardless of Barr, Lloyd, or the Committee. The Government did not wish to intrude but at the same time it could not afford to have any widespread dissatisfaction with the leadership of the colony.[50]

Speers at once took stock of the situation. Dissatisfaction was still rampant and no accord was in sight. Barr still claimed some authority and was anxious to be allowed access to the books. Quarrelling continued among the committee members themselves. Speers thereupon called a meeting of Barr, Lloyd and the Committee in his room. He reviewed the situation frankly, plainly stating that the Department deplored what had taken place by which he referred not only to Barr's alleged mismanagement but to the discord within the committee. He then informed them of his instructions: that he was to see to it that all was amicably arranged, that the colonists were settled and that success attended the whole affair generally.[51]

There then followed a development for which no one present but Speers may have been prepared. Turning to Barr, Speers asked

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49. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. May 18, 1903.

50. "Barr File". Scott to Smith. May 18, 1903.

51. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. Report. June 17, 1903.

him to withdraw from the movement entirely and to allow the committee to assume sole management. Barr willingly assented to this for it was to him an honourable way out, whereupon articles of an agreement were drawn up whereby the committee purchased Barr's merchandise, the hospital equipment, and arranged to buy the shares of the Syndicate. It was also agreed that Barr be allowed access to the records so that he could determine to whom he should refund money since he desired to make refunds on demand. Some of the colonists had requested court proceedings over the whole affair but this was withdrawn.

Speers then gave those present a stern lecture. He bluntly informed them that they could select leaders at their own discretion; whoever they selected was no concern of the Department.[52] But, Speers added, the day of leaders should end and the colonists should proceed to their lands and commence work. He further attributed some of the trouble to a lack of proper business methods and here he did not confine his remarks to Barr alone.[53]

Barr had also taken out a homestead at the settlement site but at the request of the committee he withdrew this and surrendered the land to them.[54]

What had appeared to be assuming serious aspects had ended

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52. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. May 30, 1903.

53. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. Report. June 17, 1903.

54. "Barr File". Lloyd to Smart. June 1, 1903. Telegram.

cordially. Barr had been enabled to retire honourably if worsted from the field. His movements from then on are vague. A telegram from Lloyd hints that he was still at Battleford on June 1, while a letter from Speers to Smart indicates that he was there as late as June 23.[55] Early in July he went to Saskatoon and thence to Regina and Winnipeg. He seems to have retired quietly from the scene after settling what financial obligations he could at the time. Some accounts portray him frantically driving eastward to disappear forever from the sight of the colonists; others that he was threatened with a ducking in the North Saskatchewan River, but there seems to be no foundation for these. There is no doubt that public feeling was running high for Barr was pelted with rotten eggs by some irate Englishmen at the Regina railway station, an incident that drew unfavourable comment in the Canadian House of Commons.[56] In July he was in Winnipeg where he called upon Smith, who asked him about some unsettled accounts.[57] It appeared that Barr had left a trail of unpaid bills all the way from England including a long outstanding

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55. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. June 23, 1903. Speers had promised Smart that he would prevail upon the committee to allow Barr to make necessary refunds to the colonists. Speers had mentioned this before but the committee still apparently denied Barr access to the records.

56. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 10, 1903.

57. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. July 9, 1903. This will be discussed in a later chapter.

account from the Hornsey and Finsbury Park Journal in London.[58] From Winnipeg he went to Ottawa where he may have interviewed Smart and thence to Toronto where he remained as late as November, 1903.[59] From Toronto he went to the United States.

Even though Barr had withdrawn from the movement and was anxious to make amends, he was not entirely repentant. He wrote to Scott from Toronto suggesting that any outstanding accounts could be paid from the £1,500 that he had deposited early in 1903 with the Department as a guarantee of good faith.[60] He emphasized that he was anxious to see that proper restitution was made. Scott noted the letter and passed it on to J. G. Turriff, the Commissioner of Dominion Lands.

By now Barr may have realized that since the excitement over his withdrawal had subsided, he was not altogether in error and that he had not received a fair hearing. From Chicago he wrote to Smart requesting that the affairs of the British Colony be investigated by a court of inquiry. He further suggested that the bonuses he considered due him be paid and added that he had documents signed by Preston to the effect that this would be done.

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58. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. May 26, 1903. Smith was here quoting telegrams received from Preston on one hand and Chisholm on the other; Smith was acting as a go-between. Barr claimed that Preston had promised to pay this account from a Government subsidy to Barr. Preston denied making such a promise. Smith noted that at the time of writing his letter he had not heard from either party.

59. "Barr File". Barr to Scott. November 15, 1903.

60. Ibid.

He pointed out that he was ready to come to Canada to give evidence should the case be tried but added that he was by now an American citizen and so would seek protection of the United States Government.[61] Smart was unmoved by this. He simply informed Barr that he saw no reason for such an inquiry and that affairs at the colony had settled down. No definite promise had ever been made to pay Barr any bonuses; this had simply been left in abeyance. The expense which had been incurred by the Department over the whole affair was considerably more than the bonuses would have been. Had the Department not been put to this expense a different view might have been taken on this question. Smart concluded by reiterating to Barr that the whole scheme as he (Barr) had planned it had not worked out and that there was no use Barr blaming the Department.[62] Barr had evidently committed various members of the Department as promising that he would receive bonuses. In cables to Smart and to the Secretary of the Department, Preston mentioned that certain correspondence inferred that a promise to this effect had been attributed to him by Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior. Preston angrily contradicted this, saying that he had never gone beyond stating that Barr had claimed bonuses but that

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61. P.A.C. File 748120. Department of the Interior. Barr to Smart. December 20, 1903.

62. P.A.C. File 748120. Department of the Interior. Smart to Barr. January 4, 1904.

the Department had not acknowledged his claim.[63]

After this last interchange between Smart and Barr nothing more was heard of the latter except that he briefly appeared in Minneapolis early in 1904. Here in an interview with a newspaper, Barr asserted that the whole affair was not his fault and that too much blame had been laid upon him; some of the trouble, he averred, was started by malcontents. He felt that the steamship company had treated his settlers shamefully after promising them good food and accommodation. He had had enough of immigration and considered that Englishmen as settlers were not to be compared to Americans.[64]

The same newspaper related that Barr had dropped the title "Reverend", inferring that he had left the Ministry and had gone into business in Portland, Oregon.[65] The paper did not state the nature of his new undertaking. This is the only hint of his movements in the United States. After that he dropped from sight and was next heard of when he died in Australia in 1937.[66]

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63. P.A.C. Sifton Papers. Preston to Smart and to Collier, Secretary of the Department. July 7, 1903.

64. "Barr File". This interview appeared in a clipping that is in this file. No name of the paper or date of the interview is given.

65. "Barr File". Ibid.

66. Edmonton Bulletin. January 25, 1937. Lloydminster Times. January 28, 1937. Cohuna Farmers Weekly. Cohuna, Victoria, Australia. January 22, 1937. All give notice of his death.

Barr was a restless individual with an agile pen, that he was capable of forumulating ideas but lacked the administrative ability to carry them through to a successful conclusion. A close perusal of his long pamphlet outlining his scheme reveals this from the random way in which he sets out his plans; similar topics are not set down together but are scattered throughout the text.[67] A further point is that he wished to keep all matters in his own hands and either could not or would not delegate authority as was apparent in his treatment of Charles May, W. S. Bromhead, John Robbins and the members of the Stores Syndicate.[68] Nor does he appear to have attracted men of ability to whom he could have delegated authority; in any event, he would likely have resented the presence of such men. Smart probably came as close as anyone in an assessment of Barr when he confided to Preston that Barr was:

> "....altogether too hot-headed to carry out the contract that he undertook and I think that this has been the source of a good deal of his trouble, together perhaps with the fact that he undertook to manage every detail of the various branches of the business and would not appear to have taken any person into his confidence." 69

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67. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlements in North-West Canada on Free Grant Lands. (London, 1902).

68. "Barr File". Correspondence between Smith, Smart, Scott, and Preston. March - April, 1903.

69. "Barr File". Smart to Preston. July 9, 1903.

It is doubtful that Barr was fundamentally dishonest even though his financial ventures may have conveyed that impression. As Speers noted when Barr resigned and the committee took over, Barr wished to gain access to the records so that he could refund any money to the colonists on demand.[70] Had he been thoroughly dishonest, he would simply have absconded. Feeling at the time was running at such a pitch that people were ready to blame Barr for anything even if it were not his doing.

Even after tempers had cooled, Barr was still remembered with what amounted to hatred. At the time of his deposition as leader, one member of the Canadian House of Commons referred to him as a "sharper" although at the same time Premier Haultain, when pressed for an investigation into Barr's affairs, declared in the Territorial Legislature that while he deplored the state of things, it was not easy to condemn Barr outright as he was not on hand to defend himself.[71]

Throughout the official correspondence there runs like a thread an apparent readiness on the part of some officials to shift responsibility to Barr's shoulders. This is most noticeable in letters between Smith and Speers and to a lesser extent from Chisholm,

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70. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. June 17, 1903.

71. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 3, 1903. Regina Standard. July 16, 1903. This paper's report was read in the Commons.

although Chisholm for the most part merely related what happened. Smith and Speers were ready to utter their own comments at all times and they were also eager to emphasize any good thing that they had done for the colonists.[72] While they may have been commenting upon the situation as it appeared to them, there can be no doubt that the Government was not entirely blameless. Again one is prompted to ask, why did not Smart hold Barr to his word after being ordered to do so by Sifton and why did not Sifton cancel the arrangement if Barr had done nothing? Instead Sifton appeared to take refuge in the assertation that the Government felt that since the colonists preferred to do everything through Barr, it was best to let matters stand that way for fear of an adverse effect on immigration in the future.[73] Even then there is no reason why Barr should not have been held to his word. Smart seems to have been overconfident in him, Scott, like Smith, saw matters in their true light and assumed responsibility for seeing matters to a logical conclusion. Sifton was anxious to defend his immigration policies and was probably far toopreoccupied with other matters. Once the true situation was learned, there may have been a flurry of conferences at Ottawa of which Smith and Speers were aware. Officials may have been exhorted to double their efforts to

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72. "Barr File". This can be seen from Speer's report of June 17, 1903, and Smith's insistent letters of April, May and June, 1903.

73. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 10, 1903.

see that the colony succeeded and no blame was attached to the Government, for these men held their jobs mainly by patronage and any adverse criticism could cause them some anxious moments at least. Hence the apparent urge to shift responsibility to Barr.

In summary it may be said that Barr was simply incompetent, that he was a poor administrator and unable to manage such an enterprise and that as the Lloydminster Times commented, the scheme was too big for one man.[74]

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74. Lloydminster Times. January 28, 1937.

VI. LLOYD AS LEADER OF THE COLONY

With the departure of Barr, it appeared that one of the chief obstacles to the establishment of the colonists on their lands had been removed but in reality this was only the end of the beginning. Considerable confusion was evident and many people had not yet settled on their land although those who had were already being aided by the two farm instructors provided by the Government.[1] Through the efforts of the Department of the Interior, considerable hardship had been averted although prairie fires had caused considerable damage, destroying survey stakes and generally giving the land such a bleak appearance that many felt impelled to turn back to Battleford, although some of these had since returned to the settlement site.[2] Some even chose to locate outside the original reserve, claiming that they had received so much kindness from settlers of Canadian and American origin that they preferred to settle among them.[3] A further problem had been created by some of the land west of the Fourth Meridian being found unsuitable for wheat farming although quite satisfactory for cattle raising; those who had selected homesteads here felt that Barr had misled them.[4]

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1. Public Archives of Canada (PAC). File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). Dale to Speers. Report. June 6, 1903. M. Snow to Speers. Report. June 6, 1903.

2. "Barr File". Chisholm to Smith. May 16, 1903.

3. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. June 17, 1903.

4. "Barr File". Langley to Speers. June 1, 1903.

The Saskatchewan Herald was loud in its praises of the prompt action of the Government. It congratulated Speers for his work and noted that the Edmonton firm of McDougall and Secord had already dispatched scowloads of potatoes and provisions down river to alleviate any shortages. The Canadian Northern was to commence grading 100 miles of roadbed between Battleford and Edmonton - more than had been intended - and this work was to be carried out by the colonists, commencing July 1.[5] It was hoped that this would relieve any hardship caused by lack of funds to some settlers as a number had arrived with almost their entire funds exhausted. The Herald in praising Speers, singled him out as the hero of the hour when it commented:

> "Through the efforts of Colonization Agent Speers all the difficulties which have been so prominent have been removed and the Department of the Interior is to be congratulated in the able manner they rescued the sinking ship from destruction and put it afloat to glide on through the years as prosperously as the picture of living in Western Canada was first painted." 6

Although the Herald praised Speers and the other government officials, it should not be forgotten that these men were civil servants, anxious to be free from any responsibility should anything go wrong. No one, except possibly Smith, took any initiative without consulting his

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5. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. May 23, 1903. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. June 3, 1903.

6. Saskatchewan Herald. Ibid.

immediate superiors. Many may have held positions through political patronage as was the system of that day and any questions asked in the House of Commons at Ottawa could cause them some nervous moments. With all due respect to these men, it is difficult to find any of them who had a good word for Barr although they did not go so far as to declare that he was dishonest; rather it was his failure as an administrator and the failure of his arrangements that irked them. Secondary accounts of the Colony have almost nothing good to say of him. Wetton and McCormick utter no praise on his behalf and Pick, in his humorous fictional account, had his heroes pitying Barr. Lloyd in his memoirs makes no comment about Barr's failure.[7]

The foregoing are all secondary accounts. One of the best firsthand accounts is to be found in the letters of W. Rendell and his wife who portray the settlers' viewpoint in a clear, concise and fairly impartial manner. Rendell himself deplored the lack of preparation on the part of Barr but felt that on the whole he and his family were fairly treated by the founder.[8] When his first homestead did not please him, he went to Barr, informed him of this, and asked for another, whereupon Barr without a murmur set off with him to select a new one. Eventually a suitable location was found and the

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7. George Exton Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times. July 25 to December 12, 1940. C. Wetton. The Promised Land (Lloydminster, 1953). J. Hanna McCormick. Lloydminster, Five Thousand Miles with the Barr Colonists. (London, 1924). Harry Pick. Next Year. (Toronto, 1928).

8. W. Rendell. Letter dated July 22, 1903, from Britannia, N.W.T. This was the only letter he himself wrote; his wife wrote the rest to relatives in England. Originals in Saskatchewan Archives.

two parted with a shake of hands and no ill feeling resulted. Mr. Rendell felt that the trouble with many of the colonists was that they relied too much on promises whereas they should have realized at the outset that they would have to face some hardships. He frankly declared that many of them were in difficulties because they failed to use any common sense.[9]

A second excellent account is the diary of Stanley Rackham, who like Rendell was an experienced farmer. Like Rendell, Rackham also appears to have quickly begun breaking ground and building some kind of serviceable shelter.[10]

Lloyd had by now become chairman of the Committee managing the affairs of the Colony. Secondary accounts such as those of McCormick and Wetton mention him and speak of him as a hero but the information from these is, at best, indirect. One of the best sources concerning his part in affairs is the Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society for 1903 - 1904 in which he reports to his employers in London.[11] In this it at once appears that Lloyd had proved himself a friend to the colonists particularly at the time when the financial and transport arrangements broke down. In the official correspondence of the Department of the Interior we catch

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9. Ibid.

10. Stanley Rackham. Diary. September 12, 1903. Copy(microfilm) loaned by Dr. Guy R. Lyle, Director of Libraries, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

11. Colonial and Continental Church Society. Annual Report. 1903-1904.

occasional glimpses of him. Preston and Smart appeared impressed with him but had little to do with him at first since they had to deal with Barr as the leader. Wetton particularly speaks of him at the stormy meetings at Saskatoon and Battleford, urging the colonists to go up to their land and settle on it when they themselves seemed more interested in clamouring for redress for wrongs both real and imagined.[12]

Lloyd is best seen through his own letters in which he reports to the Colonial and Continental Church Society in London and extracts of these appear in the annual report for that body.[13] The main theme of these was his work as chaplain to the colony. He speaks of the journey to the colony noting that on the ship there was "every possible kind of churchmanship and non-conformity including a small handful of Roman Catholics and some few who were nothing at all."[14] He added that at the end of the sea voyage some five hundred people had taken up a subscription toward a presentation to him for his services on the ship.

Lloyd is almost apologetic in his account of church affairs at the Colony but mentions that the delay in starting regular services was due to sickness in his family together with the general upset at Battleford. Nonetheless, it was not long before he was

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12. Wetton. Ibid. 26; Lloyd. Ibid.

13. George E. Lloyd. Letters to the Colonial and Continental Church Society from Britannia, N. W. T. No date given.

14. Ibid.

holding services at three points each Sunday: Headquarters Camp at 10:00 a.m., 15 miles along the trail at 3:00 p.m., and at the 20 mile point in the evening. Other points were even then being arranged and his lay reader, one Mr. Ellis, took these alternately with Lloyd.[15]

In his letter to his employers in London, Lloyd notes that having such a large area to cover, he needed assistance. In June, the Reverend D. T. Davis sailed to take up his duties in the area.[16] Lloyd did not even have a rectory for some time after his arrival but the Reverend J. K. Matheson at Onion Lake Indian Reserve gave him an old cabin formerly used as a playroom for the children and this served as a rectory.[17] Lack of a rectory, however, did not prevent Lloyd from his pastoral duties throughout the large area and he speaks of going as far east as thirty miles and as far west as Vermilion River near the site of the present town of Vermilion.[18]

Services appear to have been well attended although Lloyd does not mention whether any non-Anglicans came to them. Presumably they did for it was to be some time before other denominations arrived in the area. However, peace and harmony prevailed and there is no evidence of religious argument. Lloyd found that he could not get to all his points for services on Sundays and so had to hold

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15. Ibid.

16. Colonial and Continental Church Society. Annual Report. 1903-1904.

17. Lloyd. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

services on weekdays. Mr. Ellis had been taking services for those engaged on railway construction some six miles from Headquarters Camp but as he left to attend theological college in Toronto, Lloyd was obliged to take services at that point on a weekday.[19]

Lloyd's church work as a whole has been dealt with here rather than elsewhere in order to portray an overall picture of it at the outset. He put the highest priority on this work even though he had the administrative affairs of the Colony to contend with as well.

The affairs of the Colony were at this time very confused. Some of the colonists were demanding refunds from Barr for what they had paid into his Syndicates, his hospital scheme and for tents, blankets, and other items which they claimed they had not received. Speers had approached Barr about this only to be informed that Lloyd and the committee had control of the records and would not allow him near them. In mentioning this to Lloyd, Speers at once encountered opposition for Lloyd and the committee flatly refused to have anything to do with Barr, much less put him in a position to refund money.[20] Nor could Barr seek aid from one of his former secretaries, George Flamank, who simply chose sides as suited him; he had merely thrown his lot in with the committee and was completely subservient

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19. Ibid.

20. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. July 6, 1903.

to them.[21] It appeared that the trouble here was not due to Barr, who now had no control of affairs at all, but rather to Lloyd and the Committee who appeared too interested in their own immediate problems and not concerned enough with the general interests of the settlers.[22] The Government officials could do little; Smart could, at this point, only urge Speers to endeavour to impress upon the colonists the urgency of becoming absolutely self-reliant and depending upon no one but themselves for only then could success be assured.[23] The homestead entries were in the care of Chisholm and the Canadian Pacific Railway Land Agents had been instructed to refund any money paid by Barr on behalf of the settlers and to make new entries.[24]

One effect of all this was to impede the actual progress of the colonists in the most important task before them - the breaking of land and the erection of buildings and the two farm instructors deplored the slow progress in this direction.[25] A few of the more ambitious were putting up shelter as well as breaking land but on the whole the majority of the colonists were too interested in pursuing the Committee for money.

As a result, Lloyd and the committee found themselves literally bombarded on all sides by letters of inquiry from the

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21. Harry Pick. Next Year. (Toronto, 1928). 39. Flamank ultimately became the Colony's first postmaster.

22. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. Ibid.

23. "Barr File". Smart to Speers. June 30, 1903. July 6, 1903.

24. "Barr File". Speers to Smith. June 26, 1903.

25. "Barr File". Snow and Dale to Smith. August 5, 1903.

settlers not only from the site but from all parts of Canada and from England where some were waiting to come later. None of these communications has survived but they must have ranged all the way from the pleading to the downright irate; some settlers may even have been aware of the state of affairs within the Committee and were therefore furious at any delay. The inquiries ranged from requests for refunds to requests for baggage left behind at Winnipeg, Saskatoon and elsewhere.

This forced Lloyd and his committee to action. Lloyd prepared a circular letter which he sent as a reply to every colonist who had asked him any question concerning the foregoing.[26] He outlined the state of affairs and emphatically thundered: "The British Colony is not dead - neither has it been broken up and scattered around Battleford."[27] The Barr Colony was dead and as Barr had no more association with affairs, his name should no longer be used. Six hundred homesteads had been taken up and additional applications were being received from Canada and England; and there was room for many more. He entertained high hopes for Britannia as the Colony was then named - a name which in itself was not without significance - and he considered that those who had remained there would ultimately be glad they had done so. He outlined the sequence of events before

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26. George Exton Lloyd. Circular letter addressed to members of the British Colony. July 23, 1903. Copy in Saskatchewan Archives.

27. Ibid.

and since Barr's departure. Those who had secured work elsewhere he advised to remain where they were until the following spring and then proceed to the Colony by way of Edmonton and the North Saskatchewan River. Those who wished to come at once were to write to Lloyd and send their homestead receipt so that land could be held for them. Only Smart could do anything about refunds of homestead fees and virtually nothing could be done about refunding absentee fees. For baggage left at various points, Lloyd simply advised writing to whoever was concerned and to "keep on writing until you get it."[28] He held out no hope for return of money as far as the ill-fated hospital scheme was concerned. Families still in England should remain there until 1904 and come out with the group coming then.

The Committee had goods and stock on hand which it had purchased from Barr and were selling these in the interests of those holding receipts for Syndicate shares. Lloyd warned that it might take some time to realize anything on this for Barr had offered to settle such claims at the rate of £4.5s per share; the Committee were requesting £4.10s per share. Lloyd asked those holding receipts to forward them with power of attorney which he enclosed and the committee would do whatever was possible to safeguard their interests. A large number of receipts was on hand but Barr refused to hand over any more supplies until sufficient shares

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28. Lloyd. Ibid.

were forthcoming. Lloyd also requested those holding absentee receipts as well as receipts for supplies to forward these with power of attorney.[29] Some of the trouble was caused by Barr having issued so many receipts and not having kept a proper record of them. Rackham notes that ultimately it was decided to divide all the stores that were formerly Barr's equally amongst all claimants according to the value of shares held.[30]

Where was Barr at this time? He had gone east to Ottawa but not in one unbroken journey. Smith mentions that he was in Winnipeg July 9 and still indirectly associated with the affairs of the Committee in that they must have been in touch with him.[31] For this reason he may have remained in Winnipeg a safe distance from the Colony. He is mentioned by Wetton as being in Ottawa shortly afterward, presumably to see Smart, although there is nothing concerning this in official files.[32]

So that there would be no misunderstanding, Lloyd stressed that he was not acting alone but on behalf of and by authorization of the Committee who would, he affirmed, do what they could to look after the legitimate interests of all.[33] The Committee were anxious

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29. Lloyd. Ibid.

30. Stanley Rackham. Diary. September 19, 1903.

31. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. July 9, 1903.

32. C. Wetton. The Promised Land. (Lloydminster, 1953). 38.

33. Lloyd. Ibid.

that the affairs of the Colony be settled as quickly as possible, so that the colonists could commence the more vital tasks of breaking land, sowing crops, and erecting buildings.

In his circular letter, Lloyd did not forget the prime reason for his presence among the settlers - as their chaplain. He concluded by thanking all those who had sent him contributions toward the building of churches in the area. A colony without a church, he noted, was not worth much.[34]

One other item in the circular deserves mention. Lloyd declared that by a unanimous vote it was decided to name the area forming the British Colony (the twenty townships near Headquarters) Britannia Colony and that the first town was to be named Lloydminster, by which name it has ever since been known. The address had been sent to the postal authorities - who had approved it.[35]

This, with the final division of the stores, appears to have settled the immediate outstanding affairs of the colony and little more remains to be told. At Winnipeg, Smith was visited by Barr and when he pointed out that he held a large number of homestead receipts and that Barr should refund the money, the latter refused, asserting

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34. Lloyd. Ibid.

35. Ibid. Also George E. Lloyd. Letters to the Colonial and Continental Church Society from Britannia, N. W. T. No date given. In this letter Lloyd is modest about this: "the name of the first town was decided to be Lloydminster but as this sounds somewhat personal I am not saying much about it."

that the Department had money to cover it.[36] Barr may have been referring here to the sum deposited with the Department in England earlier in the year as a guarantee when he formed his second reserve.[37] The same thing occurred when Smith showed Barr a request for refund of absentee fees; again Barr was adamant in his refusal. When reminded that the transport contract account was still outstanding, Barr again declined to pay it. Smith may either have agreed with Barr or may have felt that it was no use arguing the point for he recommended that these be paid out of Department funds.[38]

The Relations of Lloyd and His Committee with Ottawa

When Lloyd assumed the chairmanship of the Committee, his first action was to notify Smart that Barr was no longer associated with the affairs of the Colony. He had also advised Smith of the change and had requested a special commissioner to be appointed to oversee all matters.[39] The Government declined to do this as it was felt that the colonists should manage their own affairs themselves. Speers would be on hand to insure that all was settled amicably since he had effected an agreement between Barr and the Committee. He had remained principally to see that the colonists were properly settled on their lands.

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36. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. July 9, 1903.

37. "Barr File". Smart to Barr. February 28, 1903.

38. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. July 9, 1903.

39. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. May 18, 1903.

Lloyd was in earnest consultation with Smart both by telegraph and letter concerning many problems that he considered required urgent attention. Chief of these was the welfare of the settlers for the approaching winter. As Lloyd found correspondence and telegraph too slow (it took three weeks to receive a reply from Ottawa and he would be obliged to go to Onion Lake every time he wished to send a telegram) he travelled to Ottawa to discuss all these things personally with Smart.[40] None of Lloyd's early letters to Smart survived, nor is there any record of their discussions.

One other pressing problem at this time was that of lumber for buildings. It had been intended to have some brought from the Onion Lake Indian Reserve to the settlement site in time for the colonists' arrival but the North Saskatchewan River was too swift at this time. Ultimately some 15,000 board feet were cut and brought to the site.[41] Even then lumber was scarce and it eventually proved necessary to bring it from Edmonton.

Of considerable concern to the Government was the state of readiness (or lack of it) of the settlers to face the approaching winter. The two farm instructors, Snow and Dale, reported that the colonists had accepted their help willingly but had made a late start owing to their not being familiar with ox, horse, or plow.

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40. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. August 19, 1903.

41. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. April 30, 1903.

The great majority of the Barr colonists were from the towns and cities of Britain and had no experience in farming and this general ignorance of farm work and the lack of threshing facilities caused many delays. Many, too, had hesitated until they knew for certain whether the Canadian Northern was coming through the reserve.[42]

Snow and Dale had been temporarily engaged to help the colonists and their reports - as well as those of the North-West Mounted Police - are the most impartial. They spoke from the point of view of farmers. They blamed the Committee with Lloyd in charge for much of the slow progress made, pointing out that because the Committee maintained close control of mercantile interests, they did the colonists a disservice by their own lack of experience in business matters in which they appeared as inept as Barr. George Langley in his final report was even more vehement. He accused the Committee of keeping the unemployed men in the Colony on a promise that there would be work for them when in fact there was none.[43] From all this it seemed that some of the colonists were in a difficult position financially as well as not having put up adequate shelter. Many were still living in tents which the women resented after being exposed to the mosquitoes for the entire summer.[44]

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42. "Barr File". M. Snow and A. Dale to Speers. August 5, 1903.

43. "Barr File". Langley to Smith. July 31, 1903. This was Langley's letter of termination.

44. Ibid.

Lloyd considered that something must be done to avoid considerable hardship among some of the settlers. He demanded of Smart that the Government do something if disaster were not to overtake the Colony. He pointed out that prairie fires continued to do great damage; the Government must take action at once. He urged that money be forthcoming for lumber and medical expenses.[45] Smart was not deterred by this and retorted that the Government did not intend to pauperize the colonists. They must pay for their own supplies and services; the Government could not make an exception in this one instance.[46]

Smart's attitude may have seemed rather high-handed but as he was in Ottawa and far removed from the scene, he only had the reports of his men in the field to guide him. He was far more likely to heed them than Lloyd and when Speers told him he considered it would be dangerous to give the colonists supplies, he agreed, particularly since, according to Speers, Lloyd entertained a very optimistic view of matters.[47]

The Department of the Interior was prompted to take some action upon receipt of information from a third source - the North-West Mounted Police. The Police, who saw more than did most Government officials of settlers, were becoming quite concerned

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45. "Barr File". Lloyd to Smart. September 7, 1903.

46. "Barr File". Smart to Lloyd. September 23, 1903.

47. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. September 9, 1903.

about some of the colonists. When Inspector McGinnis, who was stationed with his detachment at the settlement, reported to his superiors, he pointed out that there was inadequate preparation for winter in many instances. Medical attention was needed and with many people still living in tents the outlook for winter was indeed grim. Smart expressed surprise at this report since Lloyd on his then recent visit to Ottawa had not so much as hinted at any major difficulties. As it was, Smart was awaiting word from Lloyd about conditions at the Colony.[48]

Lloyd for his part asserted that affairs were not so bleak as painted; he had only 100 settlers to watch and matters appeared to be settling down. He declared that medical care and housing were on the highest priority.[49]

The Police and the Department, nevertheless, still remained anxious about the oncoming winter. As some people needed shelter badly, it was decided to move them to Battleford where the police had agreed to make available a room in the barracks and to rehabilitate a disused stable.[50] At the same time Lloyd and the Committee were relieved to learn that an immigration hall was to be erected at Lloydminster and that it was hoped to have it ready by winter.[51]

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48. "Barr File". Report of Inspector T. McGinnis. August 16, 1903; F. White to Smart. August 31, 1903.

49. "Barr File". Lloyd to Smart. October 16, 1903.

50. "Barr File". F. White to Smart. August 31, 1903; Ibid. September 2, 1903; Smart to White. September 9, 1903.

51. "Barr File". Smart to Lloyd. October 29, 1903.

VII. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LLOYDMINSTER

On Monday, November 30, 1903, the following notice appeared in the North-West Territories Gazette:

> Regina, Wednesday, November 25, 1903.
> Under the provisions of the Village Ordinance, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council has been pleased to Order the establishment of Section 2 and Fractional Section 3, Township 50, Range 28, West of the Third Meridian and the east half of Section 1, Township 50, Range 1, West of the Fourth Meridian as a Village under the name of Lloydminster; that Monday, the Fourteenth day of December, 1903, be the day fixed for the election of an Overseer of the said Village, and that William Wilson Amos of Lloydminster, be appointed to act as Returning Officer at the said election.
>
> John A. Reid, [1]
> Clerk, Executive Council.

This pithy government announcement appearing with a number of others in the official publication of the North-West Territories Government, brought the Village of Lloydminster into being as a corporate entity. It was the end of the beginning and although much more had to be done, there had been some accomplishments and the area was slowly beginning to assume a settled appearance.

Although the incorporation was an important milestone, there had been difficulties during the months immediately preceding it. Many of these were attributable to the isolated location of the settlement and its environs. One matter that caused the officials

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1. North-West Territories Gazette. Vol. 20, No. 22. Regina. Monday, November 30, 1903. 3.

of the Department of the Interior concern was that many of the settlers were not putting up adequate buildings to withstand the oncoming winter and of those that were completed, many were of poor quality. The reasons for this are not hard to seek. The colonists were for the most part unskilled in the use of tools and the knowledge of building houses and many false starts were made before the majority had built serviceable shelter. Prolonged balmy weather and a shortage of building materials delayed work on houses. Even after some 15,000 board feet of lumber had been brought from Onion Lake, there was still not enough. This problem of lumber was solved when the Department of the Interior requested Frank Oliver, Member of Parliament for Edmonton, to recommend a firm that could supply sufficient lumber.[2] It was considered that Edmonton would be the best source for the lumber could easily be floated down the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt. By the middle of November the lumber rafts were on their way although there was a slight delay when they were stranded at Victoria (Pakan). Shortly afterward the lumber arrived at the settlement and a crisis was averted.[3] As some of the colonists appeared near the end of their financial resources, Smith inquired if it would be possible for the Department or the lumber

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2. Hon. Frank Oliver, 1853 - 1933. Founder of the Edmonton Bulletin and M. P. for that city. In 1905 he succeeded Sifton as Minister of the Interior.

3. Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.). File 737973, Department of the Interior. Smith to Smart. November 17, 1903.

firm to take a lien on the buildings erected but Smart vetoed this suggestion, reiterating that the colonists must fend for themselves for then only would they succeed.[4]

The lack of sufficient preparations for the winter by the colonists disturbed the North-West Mounted Police. Inspector McGinnis had suggested the advisability of congregating all those in difficulty at a central point insofar as this was possible. He also felt that those who lived at the headquarters camp were not doing as well as those who were located on their land outside. Smart must have been surprised at McGinnis' report which he examined thoroughly at the suggestion of Fred White, Comptroller of the North-West Mounted Police. The contents of this report should have prompted the Department to study the situation at the colony,[5] particularly since Lloyd had optimistically assured Smart that all was well. Lloyd may have been looking at matters from a long range point of view and may not have worried unduly about the immediate present. Nonetheless Smart agreed to the necessity of the removal of those in need to Battleford for the winter and assured White that he would have the Department of Public Works start erection of an immigration hall without delay.[6]

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4. P.A.C. File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File".) Smith to Scott. June 4, 1903. Smart to Smith. June 15, 1903.

5. "Barr File". White to Smart. August 31, 1903. Smart to White. August 31, 1903.

6. "Barr File". Smart to White. August 31, 1903.

McGinnis had stressed the need for such a hall as the colony was isolated and the revelations of the report may have spurred Smart to action.

A site was needed for the hall but before buildings of any kind could be erected at the townsite, it was necessary that this be accurately surveyed so that it could be divided into building lots, streets and lanes. In the course of inquiries about this, Lloyd had discovered that Barr and some of his friends had earmarked four quarters of the section of land immediately south of the school section for homesteads. As Barr had surrendered his homestead when he departed, Lloyd saw nothing improper in approaching George Langley, the sub-land agent, and requesting that the names selected by Barr be replaced by some of Lloyd's choosing including his own. At the same time he learned that a section of land was being eyed by outside interests -- although he did not say who. Lloyd promptly contacted Ottawa, protesting that, if true, this was in his opinion unfair. He offered to turn the whole townsite over to the Government on the following conditions: (1) He and three others should have the right to locate on another homestead; (2) Alternate lots could go to the Canadian Northern Railway for station buildings; (3) The lots on the corner of the township street would be for a church and the lot whereon the rectory stood would be his; (4) All who wished to build in the town should have a free lot on which to build. The Government accepted all these terms except the

second, for the Canadian Northern was given only the alternate lots on Lloyd's quarter section.[7]

The colonists had considerable trouble locating the survey stakes, many of which had been destroyed by prairie fires. On September 25, J. J. Dalton, D.T.S.,[8] arrived and commenced a detailed survey of the townsite and its environs and this was completed by October 15.[9] At this time the Colony also purchased the Gore, a narrow strip of land along the Fourth Meridian and sold lots on it for $250.00 each.[10] There then remained the disposal of the free lots and it was agreed to do this by means of a lottery. This nearly caused some trouble for among the names on the eligible list were those of absentees who were still in England and coming out in 1904. Just as the draw was about to commence, C. W. Speers appeared on the scene - as he had a facility for doing when dissension seemed imminent - and informed the Committee that the whole procedure was irregular but that he would not impede it at that moment. He then requested that the names of any absentees be removed and replaced with names of those who were actually in the area. When this had been done, Speers himself drew the names and when all was complete, asked Lloyd and the

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7. George E. Lloyd. The Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times. July 25, 1940, to December 12, 1940.

8. Dominion Topographical Surveyor, the highest rank to which a Dominion Land Surveyor could rise. Information from C. W. Lester, Director of Surveys, Alberta Department of Highways.

9. Canada. Department of the Interior. Annual Report. 1903-1904. Appendix 13. Report of the Surveyor General.

10. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. October 25, 1903. A gore strip is a piece of land, often irregular in shape, left over on completion of a survey. Information from C. W. Lester.

Committee to revise the plan so that he could send it to Ottawa for approval. Speers' appearance was in answer to some complaints, for when Lloyd had been approached by those who had objected he had merely brushed aside their representations. Speers then informed the Committee that the Government reserved the right to select a site for an immigration hall and that one W. R. Ridington, an officer of the Department, would arrive shortly to supervise its erection.[11] In due course Ridington arrived and construction commenced. The Saskatchewan Herald commented:

> "Mr. Ridington, the Government Agent, is making himself generally useful and is very much liked for his genial disposition. The two large government tents are erected pending the building of the Immigration Hall but so far the accommodation is by no means exhausted. The mild weather has enabled almost everyone to be fairly ready for winter." [12]

The prolonged mild weather may have lulled the colonists into what amounted to a false sense of security and this had dismayed the farm instructors as well as Speers and Smith. It appears, however, that soon after Ridington arrived at Lloydminster, the colonists were busily engaged in preparing for winter, which may have been due to his exhortations.

Supplies for the settlers were by now arriving regularly and prices at the colony store had fallen. In spite of this,

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11. "Barr File". Speers to Scott. October 25, 1903.

12. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. December 2, 1903.

alarming reports were still abroad of a lack of supplies and of privations at Lloydminster. E. W. Thomson, a correspondent of the Boston Transcript, noted that food supplies were low and that the colonists were not unduly worried about the approach of the cold weather. He termed then as being lazy and having built poor homes.[13] The article aroused considerable anger but its author was unrepentant. In an interview with the Winnipeg Free Press, he merely reiterated his views, adding that in his opinion Americans made better settlers than Englishmen. He considered that English settlers would sooner take advice from Americans than Canadians; to them a Canadian was a colonial.[14]

The Saskatchewan Herald was quick to come to the aid of the colonists, commenting that Mr. Thomson's statements had been made when there happened to be a temporary shortage of supplies at Lloydminster but that essentials were arriving regularly. The assertion, added the Herald, was based on information from local merchants.[15] Smith, to prove Mr. Thomson in error, requested that he accompany a member of the North-West Mounted Police to the site to observe matters for himself; Smith vehemently denied any shortages.[16]

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13. Boston Transcript. November 21, 1903. Clipping in "Barr File".

14. Winnipeg Free Press. Interview with E. W. Thomson. No date given. Clipping in "Barr File".

15. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. December 9, 1903.

16. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. December 14, 1903.

By December it was apparent that most of the colonists were making adequate preparations for winter. The Edmonton Bulletin quoted the Government Land Guide as remarking that the settlers were doing well and that a number were working on the grading of the Canadian Northern Railway.[17] The contract for grading some 25 miles of permanent way for the railway had provided work for a number of them and had relieved some distress. It had been promised soon after their arrival and had been concluded through the energies of one George Still. Still apparently was a settler of considerable financial means and had played a prominent part in making Barr account for his financial transactions. Still seems to have had considerable business experience and acumen for he retired from the Committee of management, negotiated the contract and himself became the contractor! It was his action that insured that the contract remained within the colony.[18] The grading was completed during the winter and the quality of the work drew favourable comment. A feature of the Canadian Northern had always been haste in construction but the railway was not to reach Lloydminster until 1905, although it had been promised for 1904.[19]

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17. Edmonton Bulletin. December 11, 1903.

18. "Barr File". Lloyd to Smart. October 16, 1903. Lloyd outlined Still's background.

19. "Barr File". Smith to Smart. May 23, 1903.

The relative isolation of Lloydminster brought with it distinct disadvantages. The settlers were eager for news from the outside world and eagerly awaited letters from home. Even with the Saskatchewan Herald as a source of news and with plenty of work to keep them occupied, they must have found the isolation burdensome and at times depressing. Unlike the German Catholic settlements which had the unifying influence of their church to help them, the people of Lloydminster looked outside for emotional ties. The Germans too, preferred isolation since they wished to preserve their own language and culture;[20] their very homogeneity would in itself be a binding force. Nevertheless, even though the Germans were a unified community, they tended to look inward upon themselves; the English settlers would be more receptive to outside influences and to new arrivals in the area.

One step to offset the isolation had been the application to the Dominion Government for a telegraph line; Lloyd had evidently taken this up with Smart when he visited Ottawa.[21] Although the poles had been set by December, the line was not to come into operation until April, 1904. It was a branch of the Dominion Telegraph Line

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20. C. A. Dawson. Group Settlement. Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. (Toronto, 1936). Chapter XIV contains a thorough discussion of the German Catholic Settlements.

21. C. Wetton. The Promised Land. (Lloydminster, 1953).

from Qu'Appelle to Edmonton and branched from it at a point between Fort Pitt and Onion Lake, at which point it ran for 22 miles to Lloydminster.[22]

Isolation, however, did not appear to dampen the hopes of the colonists for the future of Lloydminster and the surrounding area. The most significant event since their arrival had been the incorporation of Lloydminster as a village. More tangible evidence of urbanization appeared with the erection of two stores and the immigration hall as well as a number of houses. Prior to this, the only permanent dwelling had been the log rectory which had been brought from Onion Lake.

Nor did the isolation stifle the social life of the Colony, for the settlers brought with them many institutions and social usages from Britain. They enthusiastically formed a literary and musical society and prepared to give a concert at Christmas. A choral union was to be formed to include such centres as Battleford, Onion Lake, and Bressaylor in addition to Lloydminster.[23] Plans were by then afoot for the building of a church, the famous log church which is still a feature of Lloydminster. All work was to be voluntary with individuals each giving logs.[24]

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22. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. December 2, 1903. Canada. Sessional Papers. Report on Government Telegraph Lines for Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1904. (Ottawa, 1904). There is a discrepancy here. Lloyd and Wetton state that the line was in by Christmas, 1903, while the annual report says that it was completed and operating by April, 1904.

23. Alice Rendell. Letter from Lloydminster. December 10, 1903. Originals in Saskatchewan Archives. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. December 9, 1903.

24. Ibid.

The Church confined its activity chiefly to ministering to the spiritual needs of the colony although it was, to a certain extent, a social centre and Lloyd himself was prominent in many social affairs. Its influence was not all-pervading as in the case of the German settlements but the colonists were very loyal to it.

Cold weather, isolation, and homesickness could not dampen the celebration of the first Christmas at Lloydminster. This was held in a newly completed store and a vivid account has been left by Mrs. Rendell in her interesting series of letters:

> "I think as Xmas approached we all rather dreaded it knowing how this special season brings with it so forcibly the memory of all home gatherings in the Old Country. Fortunately we personally, are far too busy in our surroundings to brood over vain regrets and Xmas Day was upon us almost before we could realize the fact. There was service at 11 o'clock a.m. and at 5 p.m. the "Festivities" started. Thanks to the generosity of Mess. Hall, Scott and Co. who have just completed a very large building for General Stores, the gathering of the Colonists took place there.... The 1st item on the programme was a big feed followed by a capital concert divided into two parts. After the last half had been successfully carried through came a large Xmas tree very prettily decorated, the little gifts being distributed by an ideal "Santa Claus". I need scarcely say how delighted the little ones were. The whole proceedings came to a close about 11:30 p.m.....and the 1st Xmas in Lloydminster was a thing of the past." 25.

A similar celebration was held to welcome the New Year. These celebrations gave a tremendous lift to the morale of the colonists.

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25. Alice Rendell. Letters from Lloydminster, Britannia, Sask., N. W. T. Canada. No date.

The Year 1904. New Arrivals

The winter of 1903 - 1904 proved to be both severe and long. The majority of the colonists endured it without great hardship although there were some to whom the North-West Mounted Police distributed rations whilst others received help through liens being taken on their homesteads.[26] Up to Christmas 1903 the weather had been moderate but with the coming of the New Year, temperatures dropped and blizzards followed.[27] The livestock suffered to some extent in that little food was available for them and many had to be turned out to forage.[28]

In his circular letter to the colonists in July, 1903, Lloyd had advised that any families remaining in England should come out with a second party in the spring of 1904. He further suggested that they travel by way of Edmonton and the North Saskatchewan.[29] Plans were made for this during the winter but when they became public knowledge, they dismayed the Saskatchewan Herald. That newspaper devoted several columns of print to the proposition, referring to the dangers of the route - particularly since the river would be in flood - and wondering how women and children would fare. There

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26. "Barr File". Smith to Speers. December 14, 1903.

27. Mary Hiemstra. Gully Farm. (Toronto, 1955). An account of the Pinder family's experiences as colonists.

28. Canada. Department of the Interior. Annual Report, 1903-1904. Report of the General Lands Agent. (Ottawa, 1904).

29. George Exton Lloyd. Circular letter to the colonists. Britannia Colony, July 23, 1903.

were few places to stop for the night along the river with its high banks. Edmonton business interests were accused of advocating the route to their own advantage; the Herald compared this to the attitude of Edmonton merchants concerning the Edmonton route to the Klondike.[30] "What did Edmonton care how many lost their lives on that trail so long as they spent their money in Edmonton before starting?" cried the Herald.[31] It went on to prophesy a recurrence of the horrors of the Klondike and to emphasize the dangers to the health of the travellers on the river. It concluded that while settlers could buy supplies in Battleford, that town opposed Edmonton on the grounds of safety, not material gain.[32]

According to a later report of the Herald, the Commissioner of Immigration for Edmonton had gone to Winnipeg to meet the colonists who planned to come to Edmonton and thence to Lloydminster in order to persuade them to take the river route.[33] Simultaneously a scow load of settlers had reached Fort Pitt, twenty miles from Lloydminster, after taking ten days instead of an estimated five to make the trip from Edmonton. Sandbars, shoals and erratic currents as well as rainy weather had plagued them. In contrast, the manager of the newly established branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce had come

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30. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. March 30, 1904.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid. June 1, 1904.

down the river to Fort Pitt in twenty-four hours in a gasoline launch![34] The remainder of the colonists made the trip safely although with considerable discomfort.

Apart from this, affairs at Lloydminster progressed smoothly although a petition to apply for a liquor license was defeated, largely through the efforts of Lloyd himself.[35] In July, 1904, a public meeting of ratepayers of Lloydminster School District No. 1036 was held to consider the matter of building and equipping the school and of floating debentures if need be. It was decided to ask the Vestry of St. John's if the church could be rented for school purposes during the erection of the school building and this permission was ultimately granted.[36]

On Sunday, July 24, 1904, the newly completed St. John's church was dedicated with a large congregation in attendance. In his sermon, Lloyd noted that not one service had been missed since the group had arrived a year before. The log church itself was built entirely by voluntary labour and the logs were furnished by the Indians of the Onion Lake Reserve through the co-operation of the Reverend John Matheson and were brought to Lloydminster by the Indians, who carried out the heavy work of erection. The donor's

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34. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. June 1, 1904.

35. Ibid. March 3, 1904.

36. Ibid. July 27, 1904.

initials were carved into each log and upon the foundation log was carved the inscription: "St. John's Minster, Laid July 10, 1904."[37] The finishing carpentry was done by the colonists themselves. On August 12 to 14 the Bishop of Saskatchewan, Dr. Newnham, visited Lloydminster. He was met 25 miles east by a deputation of men and escorted to the village which was suitably decorated for the occasion. At a social gathering held in the church, he was presented with an address of welcome and on the Sunday held his first service in Lloydminster.[38]

The log church continued to serve the colonists for a number of years after which it was used for storage until - in 1962 - it was moved to Weaver Park on the eastern outskirts of the city, there to be re-dedicated and preserved much as it was when built. Attached to it is a bronze plaque on which is the following:

PRESERVE OUR HERITAGE

> "St. John's Minster was the first place of worship built by Barr Colonists who emigrated from England and settled more than 1,000 homesteads in this district in 1903-1904.
>
> Their chaplain and leader was Rev. G. E. Lloyd for whom the settlers named this town Lloydminster.
>
> Under his guidance one of the first tasks of the colony was to erect a log church. Within the year the church was completed and was dedicated July 10, 1904."

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37. George Exton Lloyd. Trail of 1903. Lloydminster Times, December 12, 1940. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. July 27, 1904.

38. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. August 24, 1904. A correspondent from the newspaper was on hand to give a full account.

There is a difference in dates but it is likely that worship may have commenced on the date indicated on the plaque (it is the date of the laying of the foundation log) with a major dedication service being held later.

The Party of 1905

By late 1904 plans were afoot to bring out yet a third party from England but this time there was to be no river trip. Two men from Lloydminster, W. Hutchinson and R. D. Thompson, journeyed to England to recruit prospective settlers. Although they planned their venture in a manner not unlike that of Barr two years previously, they were determined to avoid his pitfalls. All went well until they proposed to accept advance orders for farm equipment, horses and supplies; it was then that they encountered objections from the Department of the Interior. One of the intending settlers asked Preston's advice concerning this and was informed that he should not undertake any financial outlay before reaching Canada. At the same time, Preston reminded Hutchinson of Barr's experiences and told him that the Department did not look with favour on this kind of advice to settlers; this resulted in a lively correspondence.[39] The Government was not only mindful of Barr but of its own narrow escape from what could have been a large blot on its immigration policies. Ultimately this group of 247 souls arrived at Lloydminster

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39. "Barr File". Preston to Hutchinson. April 7, 1905.

by way of Battleford and took up land in an area of 33 square miles west, northwest and southwest of the village.[40] Only a month after their arrival, the Canadian Northern Railway reached Lloydminster.[41]

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40. Edmonton Bulletin. June 5, 1905. June 16, 1905.

41. Ibid. August 2, 1905.

VIII. THE END OF THE COLONY ERA

The incorporation of Lloydminster as a village in December, 1903, was the first event to herald the end of the "Colony Era". From that time on, Lloydminster was to be a self-governing, corporate entity, able to determine its own destiny subject to the laws of the North-West Territories and later the two provinces in which it ultimately found itself. The days of leaders and committees had passed; an overseer and later an elected council would govern the village.

After the tumultous events of the summer of 1903, the majority of the colonists settled down to the serious business of farming which in effect meant the earnest matter of earning a living. They survived the long winter of 1903 to 1904, although some endured what they considered hardships, but which were actually no worse than those endured by any other group of settlers. Mary Hiemstra (nee Pinder) dwells upon these at some length in her book Gully Farm, but Rackham and the Rendells scarcely mention it at all. Those who were adequately prepared suffered little if any serious privation or inconvenience.[1]

The Barr Colony could not - and indeed did not - exist in a vacuum even if Lloyd and Barr sincerely believed that it would be the first step in peopling a large unsettled area with Englishmen who would transport their culture to the western plains and hold the area in perpetuity for descendents of British stock. Their

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1. Mary Hiemstra. Gully Farm. (Toronto, 1955); Stanley Rackham. Diary. Microfilm loaned by Guy R. Lyle, Director of Libraries, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; Alice Rendell. Letters. Saskatchewan Archives; Canada. Department of the Interior. Annual Report 1903-1904. Report of the General Lands Agent.

imperialist motives, mild though they may have seemed, were quite in keeping with the era in which they lived and cries such as Barr's "Canada for the British!" would have fallen on receptive ears. Barr selected a comparatively isolated area and may have hoped to fill it with settlers before a railway arrived, after which arrivals of all nationalities would have poured into the area. He may have dreamed of proceeding to England each year for a few years to bring out large parties to homestead in the area but this did not work out.[2] His idea was a block of British people living in splendid isolation - a solid area of them from Battleford to the Vermilion River. Not only did Barr's arrangements fall to the ground but it may be argued that he overlooked the fact that by insisting that a railway pass through his chosen site a short time after the first group arrived, he and after him Lloyd, under whose supervision the railway grading contract was signed - dealt his dreams a mortal blow, for once the railway came his colony could no longer enjoy splendid isolation.

The Barr Colonists brought with them the social institutions of Edwardian England as well as their effects - of these last Speers mentioned seeing more than one piano in the baggage. They brought their church or churches, their love of organizations and their books. Shortly after their arrival they established a literary and musical association, a rifle association and a cricket club. They

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2. Isaac M. Barr. British Settlements in North-Western Canada Upon Free Grant Lands. Canada for the British! Report of my Journey to the Saskatchewan Valley. (London, 1902).

gave a concert at Christmas as related by Mrs. Rendell.[3] Some may have been determined to live in the manner of country gentry but the hard work of making a living became a first consideration and there was less of the rifle club and the tennis court.[4] They had to submit to a pioneer mode of life - a form of life that they may have found primitive sometimes but this was the normal thing on the western prairies at that time for homesteaders and those who ultimately prospered did not mind it in retrospect. There would be some sighing for the way of life left behind with its amenities and there was a primitive side to life in Lloydminster as witnessed by one room shanties and sod huts but in time the settlers would rise above such things, and erect more substantial dwellings. The main objective was to have a roof over one's head. As in the case of other pioneer communities, there would be some sons of Lloydminster who would demand more than the community would be able to offer. These would and did leave to go into the world and if they succeeded would bring everlasting credit to the village of their upbringing.

Even though Lloydminster and its environs appeared to be prospering, there were some prognostications of gloom. Professor James Mavor in his report prepared for the Imperial Government

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3. Alice Rendell. Letter from Lloydminster, Britannia, Saskatchewan, N. W. T., Canada. No date given.

4. University of Toronto Library. Mavor Papers. Speers to Professor James Mavor. November 18, 1905.

considered the Barr Colony a most conspicuous example of group settlement but was highly skeptical of success. He felt that much unnecessary gallantry had taken place in the migration and he further suggested that if any similar colonies were planned, the settlers should be placed in proximity to some of the organized life to which they were accustomed. The isolation of Lloydminster was a distinct drawback.[5] Mavor was scornful of Englishmen as settlers although Speers and Smith assured him that those at Lloydminster were doing very well.[6] The colonists appeared determined despite such prophecies to overcome their initial setbacks and to succeed. Mavor received assertions that 95% of them were successful and would not have settled elsewhere. Mavor, however, clung to his views which he reiterated years later in his autobiography.[7] Mavor's account of his visit to Lloydminster reveals a rather superficial contact with the settlers there and it appears that he did not remain long enough to gain a clear insight into what had really been achieved.

It may have been that the criticisms of people such as Mavor made the colonists determined to succeed. Members of the German Catholic settlements near Rosthern were of farming background and so would have little trouble becoming accustomed to Canadian farming

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5. James Mavor. North West Canada. Report to the Board of Trade on the North-West of Canada with Special Reference to Wheat Production for Export. (London, 1904).

6. University of Toronto Library. Mavor Papers. Speers to Mavor. November 15, 1905. Smith to Mavor. November 15, 1905.

7. James Mavor. My Windows on the Street of the World. 2.v. (London, 1923). 202 ff.

methods. The Barr Colonists, on the other hand, came for the greater part from the cities and towns of Britain; only a few of them were farmers. A glance at the passenger list of the S. S. "Lake Manitoba" reveals an almost bewildering array of occupations: clerk, warehouseman, draper, grocer, carpenter, labourer, bank clerk, indoor servant, fitter, farmer, and many others.[8] Yet these people were ultimately to prosper and took to farming although with many false starts. At first the English settlers displayed an apparent reluctance to follow the accepted ideas of farming in the district and seemed very determined to do things in their own way even if this proved worthless, much to the despair of the two farming instructors, Snow and Dale.[9] Ultimately they came to accept Canadian methods and to profit by them. Development this way was not only slow but erratic im marked contrast to the Germans who by having three of their number work on the railway for everyone staying behind to till the soil assured their settlement a slow but steady development.

Many of these succeeded. One man from Woolwich related how he, having had no experience in farming before arriving in Canada in 1911 won a prize for wheat. His first years were hard - there having been a misunderstanding over land - but after 1907, which was a bad

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8. Lloydminster Times. July 24, 1963. This souvenir edition published the passenger list.

9. Public Archives of Canada. (P.A.C.). File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). M. Snow and A. M. Dale to Speers. Report. August 5, 1903.

year all around, he had not only cleared up his debts but showed a profit. "Not bad for an old Cockney who before he came out here had never done any farming."[10] This bouyant optimism was further reflected in reports of the Department of the Interior. In 1905 Speers was able to report that the country was filling up and assuming a fertile appearance. In 1907-08 he reported the town doing very well and more settlers coming in and the area rapidly filling up.[11]

Not all the colonists turned to farming for a living. There were some who brought skills such as carpentry who would ultimately make good use of these. Harry C. Messum, for example, is listed as a warehouseman but he decided that a fortune could be made by ways other than farming. He founded a dry goods business in Lloydminster which still flourishes to this day. It is but one example not only of adaptation to a new situation but of an individual seizing an opportunity which would have been denied him at home.[12]

Evidence of prosperity was further borne out by descriptions by writers such as Arthur E. Copping,[13] who visited Lloydminster in 1911. He describes the town as being prosperous or having attractive homes and a population of 1,500 souls. There were six grocery stores, two hardware stores, two bakeries, one telephone office and two

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10. A. E. Copping. The Golden Land. (Toronto, 1911). 78.

11. Canada. Department of the Interior. Report of the General Colonization Agent, 1905 and 1906. (Ottawa 1906 and 1907.)

12. Edmonton Bulletin. August 30, 1947.

13. A. E. Copping. The Golden Land. (Toronto, 1911). 73 ff.

laundries to name but a few of the businesses which were then flourishing in the town: two lawyers, a dentist, two druggists, five clergymen, two doctors. Dr. Amos, the pioneer doctor and first overseer, related to Mr. Copping how in the early days his work was monotonous; he had to dress axe wounds as the colonists were not well versed in the use of that tool.

It remains to be said to the everlasting credit of the Barr Colonists that although in many people's eyes they may have been unsuited to the life on the western prairies, they did not lack the one requisite necessary for success in the area - hard work, perseverance and a refusal to be discouraged in any way at all. What had given them a late start in 1903 was the general upset over the fumbling of Barr and their eagerness to pursue Lloyd and his committee for money.

Unifying Influences Within the Colony

The highly organized life of the colony together with its isolation prior to the coming of the railway would have had the effect of forcing it to look inward upon itself. With primitive means of access, few new arrivals could come to inject a fresh outlook. Telegraph lines were a sure communication in times ofemergency but only a railway with its regular services could insure complete intercourse with the rest of Canada.

If formal organization at Lloydminster made the community look inward upon itself, it was at least a unifying factor and would

keep morale high. The churches were another source of unity for the British colony had a common language but not a common religion. It was not limited to Anglicans, a fact which both Lloyd and Barr cheerfully acknowledged. At first the Anglican Church had matters very much to itself and its edifice was the first erected at Lloydminster but the other denominations soon made their appearance within a year - Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists appeared and held services at the Immigration Hall and the Lloydminster Times noted that on one occasion the Presbyterian minister was lecturing on church union.[14] The churches were chiefly concerned with the spiritual needs of the settlers although they were to some extent centres of social life. This was in decided contrast to the German settlements where the Church dominated the entire life of the settler and where outside contact was not encouraged.[15]

In 1905 a new unifying force appeared when on April 25 of that year the first issue of the Lloydminster Times appeared. It soon established itself as the voice of the area, the source of all news both local and otherwise and as the district "notice board". No need now to write long letters home to those in England, trumpeted the editor; just send copies of the Times - a name that in itself was

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14. Lloydminster Times. July 11, 1905, and July 25, 1905.

15. C. A. Dawson. Group Settlements in Western Canada. (Toronto, 1938). Ch. XIV. This gives a thorough discussion of the German Catholic Settlements.

not without its significance![16] As the voice of the area the paper was loud in its denunciations of those who maintained that the colony had failed. It referred to a series of articles appearing in the Sheffield Independent heaping scorn upon the Colony. Why, asked the Lloydminster Times, did the Sheffield paper send its correspondent to Edmonton and Saskatoon and allow him to write in such a vein when he did not even come to Lloydminster! The Times further commented upon the praises of Lord Minto, a former Governor General, who had visited Lloydminster only a year before.[17] In a short time the Lloydminster Times came to report doings from a district extending as far west as Vermilion. The newspaper is still in existence and proudly proclaims itself as "an independent weekly journal circulating throughout the far famed Barr Colony".[18]

New Arrivals and the Old Barr Colony

When the Canadian Northern Railway reached Lloydminster on July 27, 1905, the colony era finally came to an end.[19] From then on new settlers would and did enter the district to take up land or to settle in Lloydminster itself. The influence of the Barr Colonists

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16. Lloydminster Times. April 25, 1905.

17. Ibid.

18. Lloydminster Times. March 25, 1964. This appears in all current issues.

19. Edmonton Bulletin. August 22, 1905.

and their part in the affairs of Lloydminster would be noticeable. On September 1, 1905, the Acts of Parliament creating the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan came into force and as Lloydminster was squarely astride the Fourth Meridian, this creation of two new provinces in its turn bred municipal confusion. There were two separate councils, two public schools, two fire brigades and two of every other municipal function.[20] Three police forces were represented and it is related that when bars became illegal in Saskatchewan, those in Alberta only one block away did a thriving trade! The greater part of the village created in 1903 was in Saskatchewan. To offset the confusion the village of Lloydminster, Alberta, was created on July 6, 1905, with R. W. Miller the first overseer while on April 1, 1907, the town of Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, came into being.[21]

The town council of Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, had a number of Barr Colonists among its members, and their presence was noticeable in the years 1907 - 1910. The minute book shows that in 1907 the following were members of council: Mayor, H. B. Hall. Councillors: J. T. Hill, C. Lyster, G. H. Scott, R. Adam, J. P. Lyle, and J. Whitbread, the last two being Barr Colonists. For 1908 the membership of the council was the same except that J. P. Lyle was replaced by H. Ikin, another Barr Colonist. In 1909 J. T. Hill was Mayor and

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20. W. M. Cardiff. "Lloydminster". Alberta Municipal Counsellor.

21. Saskatchewan Gazette. March 15, 1907. 4

Councillors were: Cumming, H. C. Lyster, Miller, James Procter (Barr Colonist), and J. Whitbread (Barr Colonist). In 1910 J. P. Lyle became Mayor, the first Barr Colonist to hold that office. Councillors were: H. B. Hall, Cumming, N. C. Lyster, Haines, Gee and J. Procter, again the last two were Barr Colonists.[22] The Barr Colonists do not appear to have dominated the proceedings and an amicable feeling seemingly prevailed throughout. Undoubtedly some of the original arrivals would resent newcomers on the council but these may have been in a minority.

Even with there being two separate municipalities, municipal affairs at Lloydminster did not function too well for there was too much duplication of effort. The Saskatchewan town and the Alberta village carried on separately until May 20, 1930, when they were amalgamated by special acts of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Affairs were administered by one council consisting of a mayor and six councillors elected for a two-year term and with no residence stipulation. The town was governed by the Lloydminster Charter which was based on the Town Act of Saskatchewan and approved by complimentary orders-in-council of both provinces. On January 1, 1958, Lloydminster became a city under a new charter based on the Saskatchewan City Act and again approved by a complimentary orders-in-council by both provinces.[23] The story of Lloydminster was then complete. It had progressed in 55 years from the status of a hamlet to that of a city. The dream of Barr had been realized.

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22. Letter from W. M. Cardiff, City Clerk at Lloydminster. February 7, 1964.

23. W. M. Cardiff. "City of Lloydminster". Alberta Municipal Counsellor. III, 9, 7.

IX. CONCLUSION

We have now almost reached the end of our journey in the study of a bold experiment in the peopling of the western Canadian prairies. We have endeavoured not only to narrate the actual course of events relating to the Barr Colony but to draw some conclusions as to why they occurred. It might be argued that the study contains rather more of a straight-forward narrative than would seem necessary but this is held to be essential since the events outlined must be properly viewed in their correct perspective and a number of minor misconceptions must be clarified. It is altruism to say that the migration of the All-British Colony is a human event simply because it involves people - in this instance not less than 2,000 souls, but around such happenings many legends may grow up which, while not strictly accurate, often become part of the folklore of a nation and sometimes in spite of inaccuracy come to be accepted as true.

Any assessment of an historical happening must bring into focus the principals - in this case Isaac M. Barr, George Exton Lloyd, and the officials of the Department of the Interior. Lloyd and the Government men have left behind in letters, reports, and accounts their views of the affair. Unfortunately, we have no such material from Barr other than a few scrappy newspaper interviews and one or two letters written after he left the Colony. This makes analysis of his character difficult as such might throw light on some of the reasons for his failure as a leader.

The traditional descriptions of Barr and the subsequent adjectives of reprehensible and dishonest have arisen from first hand accounts of those present at the time of his downfall and this was a moment when emotions were running high and people would be ready to blame Barr for almost anything whether in actual fact the fault was his or not. These first hand accounts, not to mention some of the anathemas uttered by the press, do not include so much as a good word for Barr. What is more, most of these accounts display an almost indecent haste to pass on to what amounts to a beatification of Lloyd after having denounced Barr. It may have been all very well at the time for Patrick Gammie Laurie and his colleagues in the press to foment what amounted to mass hysteria and fifty years later Wetton was to continue this theme to some extent. Such vilification, much as it may appear justified, has only one result - that of divorcing the individual concerned from the course of events and if history is to be impartial this cannot be tolerated. It is true that Barr did err; he antagonized many people and had other failings but he has never yet been proven criminally dishonest and nothing can be found in the records, official and otherwise, to advance a case in this direction. On the contrary, it would appear to be the opposite, for Barr was only too ready to refund money to those who demanded it even though he could not for some time gain access to the books held by Lloyd and his Committee of twelve, until Speers prevailed upon the Committee to allow him to see them. There is nothing in

Lloyd's memoirs criticizing Barr, nor is there anything in the Rendell Letters or Rackham diaries. Lloyd himself may have felt that there was little point in wringing one's hands over what had happened; the object at hand was to get on with the job.

If condemning Barr separates him from historical perspective, the same thing holds for Lloyd if one invokes unqualified adulation of him however much of a saint he may appear. Lloyd, however, was no plaster saint. He was highly competent and a good administrator but inclined to be dictatorial and not always tolerant of the views of others such as, for example, in his overruling of an application for a liquor licence[1], or his undiplomatic labelling as "undesirables" those who preferred to settle outside the original reservation.[2] This last did him little good for the result was a stinging and public rebuke from one of the settlers concerned at Jackfish Lake. It appeared as a letter in the press and the writer declared that he preferred to mix with Canadian and American settlers.

The only failure had been not with the colony but with Barr's arrangements. Why did they fail? If we look at the man himself, it appears that Barr was a restless individual as is indicated by his constant moving from one locale to another. It also appears that he was easily panicked when something went wrong as witnessed by one of his rural deans writing to his Bishop in his

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1. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. March 23, 1904.

2. Saskatchewan Herald. Battleford. September 9, 1903. The writer was George Douglas of the Stores Syndicate advance group.

Ontario days about some minor doctrinal point, with which Barr did not agree; in other words, he could easily be made to resign a position.[3] He had a relatively mundane career from which he had emerged to head a vast undertaking although he may not have forseen that it would assume such proportions. He blithely wrote his pamphlets without taking into account all the preparations that would be needed. He failed to see that months of advance work would be necessary. It was only at the last minute that he realized that some financial preparation must be made but most significant of all, he took on a job much too big for one man and certainly much too large for his administrative capabilities. Not only did he lack the administrative ability and business acumen as well as the requisite experience to carry it out but wanted to keep all affairs in his own hands. Smart had belatedly realized this and had observed that Barr was hot-headed and resentful of criticism or helpful suggestions as witnessed by the letters of T. G. Pearce.[4] Barr could conceive a project in his mind but could not carry it out because he seemed to lack the knack of delegating authority. Nor did he appear to have gathered around him men to whom he could have given authority with confidence and in any event he would

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3. Barr to Bishop Hellmuth.

4. Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.). File 194804, Department of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as the "Barr File"). Barr to Smart. November 12, 1902. Smart to Preston. July 6, 1903.

probably have resented having such men. Bromhead, Robbins, Flamank, all appear to have been men of no exceptional ability although Flamank seems to have been able to look after himself. The one exception is Lloyd whose attitude to Barr is nowhere revealed outright.

It was only at the last moment that Barr realized that some preparation must be made in Canada to receive the settlers; the problem was how. He had only been permitted to collect the regulation homestead fees and not to charge anything else. The problem was how to raise money to initiate his arrangements. His solution was the store and transport syndicates into which he hoped money would flow and help to defray expenses. He evidently collected some funds in founders' shares but it seems he did not receive enough in ordinary shares and had to issue a call for more cash, but he sent Bromhead, Douglas, Tanner and others to Canada with a little money and then stripped them of their power and when Robbins arrived, he found he had almost no money.[5] It is difficult to speculate but the most likely reason for the foregoing would appear to be that the Syndicates were undersubscribed and money must have been chronically short. It was a case of too little and too late. Even at that Barr refunded to the committee and through them the settlers a not inconsiderable sum. He complained that he was short of money and had not been paid

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5. "Barr File". Barr to Douglas. February 11, 1903. This was his letter to Douglas outlining the latter's responsibilities. Smith sent a copy to Scott.

bonuses by the Federal Government but did not press these claims too strongly. He was entitled to bonuses from the steamship company as this was the system of the day in spite of the annoyance of the colonists that he received them; they were angry that he should receive them after the poor accommodation on the ship! The abortive hospital scheme which seems almost like a swindle was an effort to provide some medical care but it fell to the ground for it had been too hastily conceived. Possibly if it had been planned merely as a first aid station, it would have fared better although it did have the doubtful distinction of being Saskatchewan's first medicare plan![6] Barr's plans might have worked out more successfully if he had contracted with Canadian firms to have supplies delivered and transport provided or simply had allowed the colonists to purchase their own supplies on arrival in Canada. As it was, he put them to a great deal of inconvenience and it was this that antagonized them.

The foregoing paragraphs show Barr in a most unfavourable light but what of the Government? In the official correspondence the officials appear almost as heroes of the hour but in actual fact the Government was not entirely blameless. It was only at the last minute that they realized the true situation although they had ample time to prepare for it but even Smith's warnings were not early enough.[7] The question has already been raised as to why Sifton did

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6. Hospital Insurance Circular. London. March, 1903. Copy in "Barr File".

7. "Barr File". Smith to Scott. February and March, 1903.

not hold Barr to his agreement and why he did not insist that Smart receive a written promise from Barr of what preparations were made or that he insist that no extra expense be levied. It would have been easy for Sifton to stop the movement but when questioned about the whole affair, he preferred to take refuge in the excuse that to stop the movement would have an adverse effect on immigration from Britain.[8] Sifton may have been afraid of a black mark against his immigration policies. It would have been easy for Smart to have insisted that Barr keep his word and provide him with written details but nothing seems to have been done for in the correspondence appear Sifton's letters of insistence to Smart, Smart's pleas to Barr and nothing more. Then the colonists were on their way.

The Government were also well aware of Barr's financial arrangements as borne out in letters of Smith to Scott including copies of the Stores Syndicate prospectus, yet nothing was done to insist that Barr's people wait until their arrival in Canada to purchase supplies. Instead they merely admitted that the people preferred to address themselves to Barr rather than the Department of the Interior. Yet when trouble came this proved to be a way out for them for they could unashamedly throw all the blame on Barr in an effort to escape any responsibility. One can hardly blame them for these were the days of political patronage where the holding of

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8. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 10, 1903.

positions was concerned and a seeming innocuous letter to a member of parliament or question asked in the House of Commons could cause an official hours of worry; as it was both Smart and Scott spent anxious hours being questioned by parliamentary committees.[9] There was a lengthy debate in the Commons on the Barr Colony in which the opposition pointed out that the Government, by allowing the movement to take place, had associated itself with Barr and therefore was responsible for what had happened.[10]

As it was the Governmental preparations to receive the colonists amounted to a "crash programme" and Smith, Scott, and Speers had to do in a month what should have been done a year previously not only by others but by themselves. Their denunciation of Barr and the subsequent vilification of him by the press must have given them cause for relief. The only member of any government who took a sane view of matters was F. W. G. Haultain, Premier of the North-West Territories, who stated that while Barr's financial arrangements may have been questionable, he was not ready to condemn Barr as the latter was not on hand to defend his actions.[11]

The foregoing is not an attempt to rehabilitate Barr nor is it a plea that the Government should have helped his settlers

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9. Canada. Journals of the House of Commons. Volume 38, 19-22.

10. Canada. House of Commons. Debates. July 10, 1903.

11. Canada. House of Commons Debates. July 10, 1903. Regina Standard. July 2, 1903. The account was read in the Commons.

any more than any other group. Barr erred by charging the one pound absentee fee, by antagonizing many people by his manner; witness his interchange with Chisholm over the land question and by putting the colonists to great inconvenience. He failed as a leader but he was not dishonest for had he been so, he might have abandoned the colony and have calmly absconded with funds. The Government on the other hand, suddenly seemed to take heart once Barr was out of the way. Smart then declared that no charitable help would be forthcoming to the settlers and they must help themselves which was, in a sense, the correct way of assessing the situation. One of the unfortunate aspects of the whole affair is that Barr left no private papers, as far as is known, which might throw some light on the situation from his point of view.

The Barr Colony as Compared with Other Settlement Groups

It is difficult and possibly unwise to compare the Barr Colony with other group settlement schemes, for no two are absolutely alike; it is easier to contrast the differences. Coincidental with the Barr Colony was the formation of the two German Catholic Settlements, St. Peter's east of Saskatoon and St. Joseph's south of Lloydminster; this latter colony did not actually come into existence until 1911.[12] The German settlers had distinct advantages over their British counterparts. In the first place they were farmers and

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12. C. A. Dawson. Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. (Toronto, 1936). Chapter XIV.

familiar with community life in North America as they had previously lived in the United States. Their common religion (Roman Catholicism) and language gave them a homogeneity not possible with the Barr settlers. Thirdly, they formed a land company, and a settlement society, and enlisted the aid of a Roman Catholic order to facilitate matters; the order acted as the business negotiator. They reserved their lands of some fifty townships and agreed to bring in 500 settlers a year for three years. Their practice whereby four men worked on railway construction whilst another stayed to look after their land assured them of slow but steady development and money in the bank.

It has already been observed that the Germans' organization was fairly rigid and that their Church not only aided this but influenced their thoughts. This would make them look inward on themselves which was what they desired; the English settlers looked outside for ties. The Germans were to resist all outsiders until the railway came and then they preserved their language in rural areas but did not object to the teaching of English in schools as did the Mennonites and Doukhobours.

Nor can Barr's enterprise be entirely likened to the Canterbury Colony of New Zealand.[13] Wakefield and Godley had dreamed of a church colony but the demise of their land company and the great distance from England made it necessary for the colonists to govern themselves. Those of Barr Colony had already a central government to look after their needs and when Saskatchewan and Alberta became

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13. Paul Bloomfield. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. (London, 1961).

provinces, two more. Of course the position of Lloydminster was and still is unique since it is right on the border. No other colonization scheme enjoyed that privilege.

This then was the Barr Colony - an interesting attempt to found a communal settlement upon the plains of Canada but which became a town and country affair that grew up like most other towns. The subsequent years saw the Lloydminster district prosper and what Barr had really done was not to found a communal settlement so much as to induce a large number of Englishmen to homestead upon the prairie. They did so and founded Lloydminster.

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With the establishment of Lloydminster as a town in Saskatchewan and a village in Alberta, the old committee days and days of an overseer came to an end. This marked the final demise of the colony as well. The principals one by one depart from the scene. Barr had already gone. Lloyd was in 1905 transferred to Prince Albert, a change that was perhaps for the benefit of all concerned. Although he had agreed to be leader if a committee of twelve was appointed, it was plain that he was very much in control of affairs. He seemed to become more dictatorial as time passed and almost as touchy of criticism as Barr. One writer slyly remarked to Mavor that in his opinion Lloyd was born 300 years too late. "Wouldn't he have made a splendid grand inquisitor?"[14]

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14. University of Toronto Library. Mavor Papers. A. C. Macdonald (North-West Mounted Police) to Mavor. November 11, 1905.

Relations between Lloyd and Mavor were distinctly uncordial. Lloyd was infuriated at Mavor's premature criticisms of the colony and Mavor for his part was utterly unrepentant. Lloyd ultimately became Archdeacon of Prince Albert and Principal of Emmanual College (now at Saskatoon). In 1922 he was consecrated Bishop of Saskatchewan and remained so until his retirement in 1931. He died in Victoria, B. C. in December, 1940.[15]

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Time has changed the attitude to I. M. Barr. At the time of his failure, his fumbling loomed large but time and events have vindicated him. In July, 1963, a Diamond Jubilee Celebration was held at Lloydminster and a special edition of the Times appeared. Among other things, the editor noted that proceeds of its sale would go to some useful cause - he suggested either to the local museum or to establish what he called an "I. M. Barr Memorial Scholarship" to be awarded to a student from Lloydminster for study at university.[16] Such a suggestion would be fitting to the man who visualized a city of churches, schools, co-operatives - a vision to which the ultimate discoveries of oil and the resulting prosperity bear more than ample testimony. He did not live to see the vindication of his dream but in the words of the Lloydminster Times: "in the larger sense, the impact of Barr's vision has been both stupendous and glorious."[17]

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15. Anglican Church of Canada. Yearbook. (Toronto, 1963). 164. Lloydminster Times. December 12, 1940.

16. Lloydminster Times. July 17, 1963.

17. Ibid.

A FURTHER NOTE ON ISAAC M. BARR

With the death of Barr in Australia in 1937, there passed from the scene a controversial but interesting figure. Unfortunately, at the time of writing no private "Barr Papers" are know to exist and it is doubtful if Barr left any. As has already been mentioned, Barr was born in Canada and entered the Anglican Ministry at twenty-two years of age. He served in the dioceses of Huron and Saskatchewan where he remained only a short time and then was back in Huron again where he was forced to resign over some trouble. Then he went to Winnipeg, back to Huron and to the United States - to Saginaw, Michigan, Harriman, Tennessee, and Whatcom, Washington, and then to England in 1901 and embarked the following year on the plan that was to achieve notoriety.

In the various accounts of the trek and in the official correspondence appear hints of Barr's personality. It seems that he was aggressive, ambitious, distasteful of criticism, hot-headed and easily panicked. It seems that he had an unhappy and uncanny facility for getting into trouble. All these attributes may have led to his downfall. He is reported to have held strong imperialist sentiments and this may account for some of the views expressed in his writings.

Not much is known of Barr's movements after he left the Colony beyond the fact that he was in Winnipeg, Ottawa, Toronto, and Chicago. According to one account, he went into business in Portland, Oregon, although nothing is revealed of the nature of

this. According to the Cohuna Farmers' Weekly of January 22, 1937, he came to Australia in 1911 settling at McMillans near Cohuna, where he lived for the remainder of his life, until he died at the age of 89. As the paper notes: "He had already retired with shattered religious faith from the Christian Ministry. At McMillans he lived in mental retirement, devoting himself as well as his now diminishing energies would permit to the development of his farm. But he never lost interest in Empire settlement, and followed every development with quiet interest until his long day finally closed."

Almost nothing is known of Barr's personal life. According to the Cohuna Farmers' Weekly, he was twice married. In a letter to W. J. White he mentions that his only son died in the South African War. In the Book of Remembrance for that War (a facsimile of which is in the Alberta Provincial Library) there appears the name of Private Harry B. Barr of the Royal Canadian Regiment. Nothing is known of his first wife beyond the fact that he returned from the Diocese of Saskatchewan because of her illness. All that is known of his second marriage is that he had two sons who still reside near Cohuna.

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This list is divided into two main sections: Books both of a general nature and those which have a general bearing on the study of the Barr Colony itself. The second section deals with primary and secondary sources dealing directly with the Barr enterprises.

Some of the works in Section I are included as being essential for a background study of the district and of immigration and in the case of Bodelsen and Seeley, of imperialistic thought current at the time. Some works such as O'Dea's The Mormons have been used for comparison purposes only. Two items may be said to be conspicuously lacking - a history of the Province of Alberta and a good one for Saskatchewan. Blue's Alberta Past and Present is now outdated and nothing suitable can be found for Saskatchewan. Some of the older works cited are first hand accounts and are included to give a description of the land itself; of these, Palliser's Report is probably the best.

General biographical works such as The Canadian Who's Who and Wallace's Dictionary of Canadian Biography are placed in the general section as they include biographies of some of the central figures.

The primary sources in this study fall into two categories: letters and diaries of individuals closely associated with the Colony and official government correspondence and annual reports. No personal letters from Lloyd other than those to the Colonial and Continental Church Society are known and none of the annual reports of the Society is available in Canada. What has been quoted in the study was copied for me by a friend in Cambridge, England. Lloyd published his memoirs in serial form in the Lloydminster Times; these have an unfortunate aspect of apparently being written from memory many years later and from this it seems that Lloyd kept no personal diary. Government correspondence of which there is a considerable amount is an excellent source even if the officials are at times endeavouring to protect their positions; the same may be said for annual reports. There are some useful newspaper accounts. The Rendell Letters and Rackham Diary are useful although dealing chiefly with the affairs of the individuals concerned.

The few secondary accounts that exist are very superficial. Pick's is fictional, although humorous; Wetton's is fairly complete but largely taken from Lloyd's memoirs to which acknowledgement is not given. Copping's account like that of James Mavor, reveals only a short visit to Lloydminster, while Mary Hiemstra's deals mainly with the affairs of one family.

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ster Times

Established 1905

Provinces"

EDNESDAY, JULY 17th, 1963. No. 3003

Them . . .

ersary of the Barr Colony
neers who forsook
panned half a continent and
to found a colony.

tow, H.	33	Gardener
Mrs. A.	32	Wife
ton, R.	18	Page
ie, Adam	23	Assistant
ie, Herbert	37	Baker
k, H. D.	20	Carpenter
kbanks, R. F.	19	Carpenter
ks, Geo.	22	Farm labourer
ks, H. W.	33	Clerk
, F.	34	Reservist
, Geo. E.	45	Cashier
Mrs. E.	43	Wife
Edith	21	None
Homer	18	"
Edward	14	"
George	6	"
Rosalie		"
Ruhann		"
, Geo. S.	22	Fireman
, J. E.	23	Gardener
, Percy R.	24	Starter Tracer
, Thos.	33	Milkman
, T. G.	20	Joiner
bridge, F. W.	21	Farmer
r, Miss M. B.	22	Shop Ass't.
ey, Herbert	36	Overlooker
ey, Mrs.	33	Wife
B.	11	None
, Mrs.	54	Widow
Ernest	20	Press Artist

Campbell, Mr.	26	Carpenter
Campbell, P.	27	None
Canty, J. R.	43	Farmer
" Harry	18	Butcher
Collings, W. H.	24	Hairdresser
Collins, Isaac	45	Carpenter
" H.	17	Fitter
Collinson, H.	44	Manager
Collingwood, H.	38	Hairdresser
" Mrs.	32	Wife
" Walter	7	None
" Laura	5	"
" Leonard	--	"
Collins, Harold	18	Engineer
Collins, Herbert	21	Labourer
Connell, Thomas	33	Butcher
Connor, C.H.C.	44	Secretary
Conyers, J. R.	29	Spinner
Cook, E. H.	30	Joiner
" Mrs.	27	Wife
" H. E. B.	3	None
" S. M.	--	"
Cook, Geo. S.	27	Baker
" Mrs. A.	23	Wife
" George	--	None
Cook, T. A.	21	None
Cook, Wm.	19	Clerk
Coomber, G. R.	32	Farrier
Coop, A. C.	20	Prospector

" Violet	14	None
" Charles	13	"
" May	8	"
" Gerald	4	"
Francis, S. A.	26	Clerk
Franks, J. C.	30	Clerk
Fraser, Henry	19	Compositor
" William	21	"
Freeman, A. C.	31	Clerk
Friend, H. A. F.	23	Carpenter
Friend (on same list number as W, M.)	25	Labourer
Fuller, C.	20	Decorator
Furness, John	43	Farmer
Fyfield, G.	20	Servant
Gaffrey, S.	15	Clerk
Gallon, W. G.	24	Labourer
Garland, H.	20	Farmer
Garner, B.	20	Clerk
Gardner, E,	33	Carpenter
Gardiner, W. C.	28	Gardener
Garnett, John C.	28	Warper
Garrish, A. G.	24	Farmer
" J.	19	Clerk
Gartside, Thos.	38	Draper
Gayford, W.	20	Farmer
Gee, S. J.	18	Builder
" C. A.	19	"
Genge, Charles	20	Shop Ass't
" J.	18	Warehouseman
George, A.	45	Farmer
George, Amos	43	Farmer
George, F.	26	Farmer
George, J. B.	19	Carpenter
Gibbons, Charles	27	Baker
Gibbons, Frank	17	Baker's assistant
Gibbs, G. F.	37	Schoolmaster
" F.	30	Wife
" R.	14	None
" G.	12	"
Gibson, H.	26	Moterman
" Mrs.	21	Wife
" Ronald	1¾	None
Gill, Charles E.	22	Draper
Gillett, A. J.	28	Engine driver
Gillett, Henry	35	Saddler
Girling, H. J.	27	Labourer
Glass, George	25	Carpenter
Glynn, Frank	39	Engineer
" Mrs. F.	35	Wife
" Wm. F.	13½	None
" Edward	10½	None
Gordon, Alex	27	Farmer
" Mrs. Mary	27	Wife
" Mary	5½	None
" John	18	Farm servant
" Alexandra	--	None
Gorman, G.	35	Clerk
" Mrs.	33	Wife
" Dorothy	2½	None
Gosling, W.	46	Plasterer
" Mrs.	44	Wife

Harris, Frederick	18	Fireman
Harris, George	41	Gardener
Harris, J. W.	24	Joiner
" G.	20	Bricklayer
Harris, Walter	35	Handyman
" Mrs.	29	Wife
" Walter F.	4	None
" Allan P.	2	"
Harrison, H.	34	Farmer
Harrison, Wm.	25	Mason
Hartley, H. H.	21	Clerk
Harvey, N.	39	Shoemaker
Harwood, C. J.	28	Warehouseman
Hassall, Charles H.	47	Mechanic
" Charles	21	"
" Thomas	19	"
Hassall, E.	48	None
Hathaway, Miss M.	20	General servant
" A. E.	48	Cooper
" Mrs.	43	Wife
" D.	23	Cooper
" Ed.	16	"
" H.	11	None
" Herbert	8	None
" M. S.	6	None
Hawkins, R.	28	Warehouseman
Hawksby, H.	22	Butcher
Hayes, Fred	23	Woolcomber and combmaker
Hayward, W.	34	Clerk
Headley, H.	43	Engineer
" Mrs. G.	37	Wife
" Marjorie	8	None
Heald, Arthur	24	Engineer Fitter
" Alfred	22	"
Heaps, F.	30	None
Hearn, W. E.	25	None
Heath, Edward J.	28	Draper
Heatherby, J.	20	Labourer
Hennessy, G. W.	19	Labourer
Henshaw, A. T.	28	Reservist
Henson, Wm.	29	Farmer
" Mrs.	27	Wife
" Miss	1	None
Hester, E. H.	22	Engineer
Hetherington, James	35	Miner
Hetherington, J.	28	Farmer
Heywood, Alfred	33	General dealer
" Wm.	10	None
Hicks, George	42	Farmer
" Mary	30	Wife
" Louisa	15	None
" Maggie	10	"
" Philip	5	"
" Arthur	2	"
Hickson, John J.	30	Carpenter
" Bertha	26	Wife
" Hilda	4	None
" Leslie	2	"
" Infant	--	"
Hilder. F. H.	18	Farmer

" James	12	None
" Mary	11	None
" Agnes	3	"
Guire, Jas.	20	Gardener
Keone, T. H.	19	Trooper
Millan, Reg.	18	Labourer
Queen, F. H.	19	Grainer
adows, H.	24	Assistant
adows, Mr.	17	Farmer
ara, Tom	22	Labourer
rry, Jos. J.	18	None
rcer, A. A.	20	Farmer
rcer, W. T.	27	Reservist
ssant, J. H.	37	Carpenter
" Agnes	33	Wife
" Leonard	10½	None
" Vernon	8½	"
" Cecil	6½	"
ssum, H. C.	30	Warehouseman
therell, F. E.	27	Lampmaker
" Ellen	22	Wife
ttam, H.	20	Butcher
all, Frank	59	Bld carpenter
leson, Chas.	21	Joiner
llman, R. S.	46	Grocer
" Mrs.	41	Wife
" R.	18	None
lls, A. G.	21	Clerk
" Alfred H.	24	Clerk
lls, F.	26	Builder's Clerk
" Mrs.	24	Wife
llward, W. H.	24	Carpenter
lner, J. W.	23	Farmer
tchell, A. T.	24	None
tchiner, C.	25	Carpenter
sley, G.	33	Motorman
" Mrs.	32	Wife
tgomery, J.	27	Farmer
n, Jas. A.	41	None
re, Alfred	31	Gardener
re, W. M.	23	Market Gardener
gan, D.	36	Miner
an, V. P.	18	None
ris, F. N.	24	Clerk
rison, H. M.	24	Farmer
rison, R. J.	22	Warehouseman
W. C.	20	Railway guard
ley, H. E.	20	Farmer
, T.	35	Farmer
M.	26	Wife
E. M.	2	None
ey, Francis	47	Pilot master
Gladys	20	None (mariner)
Margaret	18	"
Francis	20	"
Irene	12	"
John	8	"
Louis	3	"
on, L. C.	21	Dairyman
ch, Arthur	23	Gardener
y, F. H.	38	None
ass, J. B.	28	Farmer
Geo.	23	Cutter

Partridge, S. H.	34	Clerk
Pattenden, J.	38	Bricklayer
Pawlett, Jos.	34	Herbalist
Paxton, J. E.	29	Brickmaker
Peach, J. E.	27	Farmer
Pearman, J. B.	46	Farmer
Pearson, Geo.	43	Railway clerk
Peart, Samuel	27	Farmer
" Jennie	26	Wife
" Wm. R.	2	None
" Robert H.	--	"
Peek, G.	25	Brickworker
Peckett, S. J.	22	Engineer
Pett, H. J.	22	Butcher
Phillips, C. T.	24	Farmer
" Walter	11	None
Phillips, G. H.	25	Mech. fitter
" H. W.	49	Carpenter
Philpotts, C.	28	Gardner
" Mrs.	25	Wife
Philpots, H.	19	Mechanic
" J. S.	32	Grocer
" A.	31	Wife
Pick, G.	45	Agent
" Mrs.	44	Wife
" Geo. H.	21	Timekeeper
Pickles, Thos.	27	Joiner
Pike, .	36	Teacher
Pinder, W.	30	Farmer
" Mrs.	29	Wife
" Mary Jane	4	None
" Lily Eliz.	3	"
" John	--	"
Pinnington, T.	48	Clerk
" Ellen	46	Wife
" Dorothy	17	None
" Ursula	15	"
" Keith	13	"
" Frank	11	"
" Eric	8	"
Pipe, G.	23	None
Pitts, W.	15	None
Place, T.	23	Fitter
Platton. W.	40	Agent
" Mrs	39	Wife
Pleasance, F.J.	19	Clerk
Poile, A. L.	31	Farmer
" Mrs.	26	Wife
" Alfred R.	3	None
" Eveline	--	"
Polland, H.	21	Weaver
Pomeroy, B. T.	40	Ironmonger
" Mrs.	38	Wife
" V. M.	8	None
Poole, A. G.	25	Grocer
Pope, G.	22	None
Poppey, H. A.	26	Driller
Porter, Wm. Jr.	18	Farmer
Posthuma, G.	44	None
Posthuma, J. G. W.	23	Clerk
Postle, Henry	37	Gardener
" Mrs.	27	Wife
" Leslie	3	None

Thorpe, G.	56	Miner
" G. Jr.	23	"
" Mrs. G.	24	Wife
" Miss	25	None
Thorpe, G. H.	26	None
Threlfall, James	25	Painter
" Annie	25	Wife
Thurkell, Jos.	23	Blacksmith
Thwaite, Adam	33	Labourer
Tibbs, E. J.	23	Carpenter
Titcomb, A.	27	Butler
" A.	24	Wife
Todd, Arthur M.	24	Grocer
Todd, E.	21	Fitter
Tooth, W.	22	Shop Ass't.
Topott, W. S.	28	Butcher
" Mrs.	25	Wife
Tossell, Charles E.	32	None
Towle, J. A.	21	Civil servant
Trace, D. W.	22	Farmer
Trickett, Mr.	24	Organist
Trim, E.	40	Smith
Trim, Thomas A.	40	Smith & fitter
" Mrs. Sarah	41	Wife
" Annie	17	None
" Madaline	15	"
" Frederick	11	"
" William	10	"
" George	8	"
" Eveline	6	"
Truscott, C. F.	25	Compositor
Truscott, G.L.	53	Lodging H'kper
" Mrs. H.	52	Wife
" Kate	21	None
" Edith	19	"
" Jessie	16	"
" Willie	18	"
" Lewis	15	"
" Perry	10	"
ullett, W. J.	24	Shop assis't.
urk, E. J.	30	Compositor
urnbull, Wm.	35	Farm worker
" Mrs.	33	Wife
" Walter	5	None
" Alex	3	"
urner, C. M.	21	Builder
urner, J. W.	34	Vagrant master
urner, T. E.	21	Farm Labourer
eedale, C.	22	Farmer
eedale, J.H.	48	None
" M.	34	Wife
eedig, F. N.	22	Artist
emlow, W.	27	Rancher
derwood, A. W.	20	None
ivin, Robert	22	Checker
hill, W.	32	Farmer
" Mrs.	23	Wife
" Jacob	69	Farmer
" Wm.	14	None
uhart, T.	28	Platelayer
ney, Allen	19	Assistant
, F. S.	22	Ironmonger
Whittaker, F.	32	Cotton spinner
Whittaker, G. D.	22	Clerk
Whittles, Jas. A.	27	Farmer
Whittles, W. W.	21	Baker
Wickes, F. E.	30	Seaman
Wilcox, Arthur	25	Gardener
Wilkins, J. E.	24	Farmer
Wilkinson, Herbert	30	Cooper
" John	21	Farmer
" Mary	31	Wife
" Sydney	7	None
" Maurice	4	"
Wilkinson, W. H.	23	Brickmaker
Will, Charles	20	Groom
Willard, E. J.	31	Compositor
" F. G	20	Clerk
" L. A.	19	"
Willett, W.	21	Porter
Williams, Alfred E.	21	Farmer
Williams, Charles	23	Grocer
Williams, D. L.	29	Grocer
" S. G.	22	Grocer
Williams, L.	22	Labourer
Williams, N. E.	25	Labourer
Williams, Thos.	25	Draper
Williamson, E. C.	29	Salesman
Willis, James	45	Joiner
Willoughby, P. H.	25	Printer
Willson, W. W.	35	Gardener
" Mrs.	37	Wife
" W.	11	None
" H.	8	"
Wilson, Arthur	27	Painter
" Herbert	23	"
Wilson, A. W.	25	Brick worker
Wilson J.	23	Labourer
" Mrs.	21	Wife
Wilson, Wm.	41	Farmer
" Susan	41	Wife
" Bertha	19	None
" Ethel	14	"
" John	9	"
" Edward	6	"
" Dorothy	3	"
" William	--	"
Winthip, A.	20	Labourer
Witts, Alfred T.	22	Postman
Wood, C. V.	19	Clerk
Wood, F. H. A.	38	None
" M. M. M. M.	34	Wife
" J. F. O.	3	None
Wood, Jas. A.	42	Florist
" Isabel	38	Wife
" Gertrude	19	None
" Adelaide	20	"
Wood, John	23	Platelayer
Wood, J. A.	35	Farmer
Woodgrade, P. B.	25	None
Woodhouse, C. H.	22	Fitter
Woods, C. H.	23	Labourer
Wormald, J. W.	21	Clerk
Worthington, James	46	Farmer

idell, M. S.	24	Farmer
gstaff, E. W.	36	Grocer
kefield, V. S.	28	Cavalryman
lfare, W. A.	26	Glass artist
lker, J.	35	Farmer
lker, J. J.	30	Traveller
lls, Enoch	21	Labourer
lsh, W.	27	-
" E. A.	29	Wife
" W. L.	3	None
" M.	2	"
" E.	1	"
ller, F. R.	31	Engineer
ndley, E.	23	Farm Labourer
rbuck, H.L.R.	34	None
" M.R. C.	23	Wife
rd, R. J.	48	Grocer Ass't.
rde, Harry	34	Supt. Engineer
rren, Henry	39	Tinsmith
" Hannah	29	Wife
" John R.	5	None
" Horace	4	"
" Olive	2	"
terhouse, Wm. E.	28	Railway clerk
" Gertrude	26	Wife
" Trevor	--	None
ters, S.	22	Striker
tson, G. H.	21	Clerk
tson, H.	30	Gardener
tson, Jas. E.	19	Butcher
tson, O. H.	30	Clerk
tson, Wm.	23	Warehouseman
tts, C. D.	30	Civil Engineer
tts, G.	23	Farmer
tts, G.	23	Farmer
yman, C.	22	Carpenter
bb, F. T.	24	Clerk
bb, N. J.	26	Draper
bster, R. A.	19	Farmer
iss, W. E.	20	Clerk
lls, F. E.	28	Publican
sthall, W.	20	Compositor
aley, Herbert	19	Farmer
eeler, H. W.	21	Footman
etten, J.	39	Farmer
" Mrs.	36	Wife
" James R.	5	None
" Allen R.	4	"
itbread, J.	34	Farrier
itcutt, F. C.	22	Labourer
ite, F. C.	22	Farmer
ite, John E.	39	Mechanic
" Elizabeth	39	Wife
ite, S.	18	Smith
ite, W.	30	Warehouseman
iteley, J. C.	19	Chemist
" B. J.	22	R. R. employee
iting, Francis	21	Labourer
ippell, H. J.	28	Farmer
ittaker, E.	29	Hatter
" L.	25	"
" Mrs.	41	Wife
" Frank	20	Labourer
" P.	18	"
" James	15	"
" A.	11	None
Wrigglesworth, A. H.	32	Cabinet maker
" Mrs.	32	Wife
" Infant	--	None
Wright, Mr. T. H.	20	Farmer
Wright, F.	27	Cotton spinner
Wright, H.	24	Gardener
Wright, John E.	39	Blacksmith
" W. C.	34	Farmer
" Wm. E.	16	Blacksmith
" Elizabeth	42	Wife
" Eliz. Jr.	12	None
" St. John E.	4	None
" Bella	25	None
" William	3	None
" J. Cragie	--	None
Wright, L. J.	23	Ass't Manager
Wright, P. J.	25	Farmer
Wright, R. C.	43	Farmer
" Mrs.	38	Wife
" Winifred	20	None
" Muriel	18	"
" Raymond	19	Engineer
Wright, W. G.	18	Racing stable attendant

CHRONOLOGY

Pages 1-4, Purser's List of SS Lake Manitoba, 1903.
Pages 5-6, Isaac Barr pamphlet, 1902; Sandy Beach, Apl. 5, 1928; Cold Lake, July 26, 1928; Telephone, May 10, 1928; Co-Op, Feb. 2, 1928; First, Nov. 1, 1928; local, May 10, 1928.
Page 7, Ed., Apl. 23, 1925; Memories, Apl. 30, 1925 Pool, May 14, 1925; Ad, May 14, 1925; Bd, Jan. 15, 1925; Rink, Apl. 2, 1925; Unwin, June 25, 1925; Council, Jan. 15, 1925.
Page 8, Bd., Jan., 1925; School, Oct. 1, 1925.
Page 9, Pool, June 25, 1925; Co-Op Ad, June 25,1925 Carnival, June 25, 1925; Ind & McGale Ads, Oct. 10 1925; Gas, Jan. 2, 1930; Oxville, Jan. 2, 1930; Rotary Club, Nov. 22, 1928.
Page 10, Celebration, July 7, 1927; Safeway, Sept. 26, 1929; Oxville, May 5, 1927; Thornton, Aug. 18, 1927; Elks, Sept. 15, 1927; Ad, May 31, 1928; 2 Mix Ads,Aug. 18, 1927; Snowmobile, Nov. 20, 1927; OK, May 31, 1928. Cards, Apl. 23, 1925.
Page 11, Fire, Sept. 22, 1927; Ad, Jan. 31, 1929; Drilling, Sept. 12, 1929; Ad, Apl. 2, 1925; Drilling, Sept, 19, 1929, Bylaw, Sept. 22, 1927.
Page 12, Oil, May 23, 1929; Oxville, Dec. 26, 1929; Fire, Apl. 11, 1929; Amalgamation, Oct. 3, 1929; Telephone, Feb. 20, 1930; Oil, Oct. 10, 1929; Oil Feb. 20, 1930; Amalgamation, Jan. 16, 1930; Oil, June 6, 1929; 3 Ads, Oct. 3, 1929.
Page 13, Fair, Aug. 18, 1927; Co-Op, July 5, 1928; Ad, May 5, 1927.
Page 14, Banquet, May 29, 1930; Notices, Jan. 23, 1930; Celebration, June 5, 1930; 3 Ads, Oct. 10, 1929, Jan. 30; May 14, 1925.
Page 15, Feb. 10, 1927; Page 16, Oil, May 23, 1929 Prospectus, Feb. 10, 1927; Bishop, Sept. 10, 1925 Sapiro, Aug. 11, 1927

	22	Salesman
s, G. N.	22	None
rd, A. W.	25	Bricklayer
E. S.	27	"
r, W.	28	Warehouseman
Mrs.	28	Wife
Dorothy	--	None
ols, C. T.	23	Farmer
olson, R.	36	Farmer
" Mrs.	32	Wife
olson, T.	21	Clerk
l, Alex	28	Farmer
ll, L. D.	19	None
an, E.	24	Plumber
ll, J.	26	Brazier
s, S.	18	Farmer
s, T. E.	19	Clerk
all, J. T.	34	Carpenter
nden, P. R.	20	None
l, T. W.	21	Printer
l, Herbert	21	Grocer's ass't
H. Ashman	29	Chemist
er, Wm.	38	Labourer
l, P. J.	28	Clerk
Robert	24	Carpenter
ood, Walter	26	Butcher
on, E.	39	Farmer
ne, E. P.	25	Farmer
ne, S. H.	31	Hardware d'ler
d, J. A.	22	Clerk
on, J. Jr.	23	Labourer
W. L.	23	House porter
W. T.	23	Farmer
ne, R.	29	None
C. E.	26	"
Hy. C.	31	Carpenter
Mrs. M.	32	Wife
Nellie	7	None
W. T.	36	Market gardner
Elizabeth	35	Wife
Walter	5	None
Margaret	--	"
ng, T.	20	Butcher
William	22	"
er, Hy.	30	Switchmaker
er, J. J.	22	Clerk
er, Kenneth J.	22	Clerk
s, W.	22	Carpenter
er, A. E.	21	None
er, J.	27	Farmer
inson, Edgar	25	Farmer
Thos.	37	Postman
Alice	35	Wife
Margerie	11	None
Leslie	8	"
Sydney	6	"
y, H. W.	24	Traveler
ons, A. A.	19	Electro-plater
ons, Henry	25	Carpenter
ons, B. O.	23	Shop assistant
ington, Thos.	20	Upholsterer
idge, O	21	Labourer
Poulter, Chas. S.	30	Farmer
Powell, Jack	18	Labourer
Powell, Tom	24	Jeweller
Powers, W. H.	24	Warehouseman
Price, J. C. W.	33	Farmer
" L.	25	Farmer
Price Jno.	28	Shoemaker
Price Jos. H.	20	Farmer
Price, J. V.	19	Miner
Pritchard, C.	20	Engineer
Pritchard, R. H.	28	Carpenter
Procter, J. B.	24	Moulder
" J. E.	32	Bootmaker
Rackham, S.	25	Farmer
Ralph, David	18	Carpenter
" Wm.	50	Master builder
Randall, A. E.	19	Ironmonger
Ranger, G.	19	Labourer
Rattenbury, H. W.	35	Cooper
Rawlings, Chas.	28	Coach plater
" Henry	22	Filer
Reading, Ed. J.	18	None
" F. T.	17	None
Ready, Nathan	37	Shoemaker
" Mrs. P.	37	Wife
" Ralph	16	None
" Sarah	14	"
" Florence	10	"
" Elsie	8	"
" Ewart	17	"
Rebitt, Thos. Hy.	47	Wood engraver
" Mildred	40	Wife
" Courtney	20	Processworker
" Gwendoline	18	Dressmaker
" Henry R.	15	Processmaker
" Dora	11	None
" Beatrice	10	"
" Elsie Ann	9	"
" Frank G.	7	"
Reeby, Geo.	21	Railway clerk
Reed, M. M.	24	Clerk
Rees, J. M.	36	Labourer
Reeve, A. R.	22	Farmer
Reynolds, F. J.	22	None
Ribchester, F.	34	Joiner
Rice, Geo.	43	None
" Geo. Jr.	20	Miller
Richards, G. E.	31	Carpenter
" A. E.	20	"
Richards, G. E.	38	Miner
" J.	42	"
Richards, W.	28	Miner
Richardson, J.	27	Clerk
Richardson, Thos.	18	Carpenter
Riley, Geo.	26	Butcher
Risdale, Robert	32	Shoemaker
Roden, T. C.	21	None
Roberts, J.	44	None
" R.	40	Glazier
Roberts, J. L.	27	None
Roberts, Thomas	26	Labourer

oule, N. H. T.	18	Farmer
rant, H. E.	20	Joiner
ray, F.	11½	None
ray, F. J. J.	22	Carpenter
ray, G. McC.	23	Farmer
" James	30	Farmer
ray, J.	26	Lift attendant
ray, Mr.	28	Warehouseman
" Mrs.	30	Wife
" Robert C.	6	None
" Albert	2	"
reen, Athol D.	24	Farmer
reen, Mr. H.	35	Bookbinder
" Mrs.	34	Wife
" Percy	4	None
reenhalgh, A.	19	Telegraphist
reenwood, Alfred E.	24	Piano maker
" Frank J.	25	"
riffin, F. H.	20	Traveller
riffin, Percy K.	24	Carpenter
riffin, M. S.	42	Transport
riffiths, Edward	25	Farmer
riggs, J.	23	Grocer
rimes, P. L.	29	Farmer
rimshaw, W. H.	25	Butcher
ristwood, Thomas J.	23	Shop Ass't
ronow, Joseph	46	Engineer
uppy, F. E.	30	Saddler
wynn, George	26	Engineer
adland, W.	21	Farmer
aggis, J. H.	23	Racing stable attend't
" P.	27	" "
aigh, J. B.	49	Mill hand
all, A. L.	22	Photographer
" Mrs. Alice	21	Wife
all, C. S.	25	Clerk
" B.	23	"
all, J. J.	19	Bricklayer
anson, Philip	30	Farmer
" Agnes	24	Wife
" Wm.	20	Farmer
antford, Albert E.	21	Clerk
arding, A.	22	Farmer
arding, B.	25	Farmer
arding, Ernest	26	Farmer
ardwick, J.	19	Milkman
ardwick, John	21	None
ardy, John	27	Carpenter
" Mrs.	29	Wife
" Lillian	2	None
" Leonard	4	"
ardy, W.	25	Lithographer
arley, G.	27	Grocer
arper, C. H.	18	Grocer
" H. H.	17	Farmer
arper, R. H.	39	Wholsale Tailor Manager
" H. A.	17	Warehouseman
" S.	29	Tailor
arris, A.	22	Bookbinder
Hill, H. Ingram	23	Carpenter
Hill, Jos.	49	Cattle dealer
" Mrs.	49	Wife
" G.	20	Smith
" J.	18	Sawyer
" F.	15	Instrument maker
" Emma	11	None
" T.	5	"
Hill, T.	35	Joiner & C.
Hillary, George	27	Blacksmith
" Mrs. K.	26	Wife
" M.	--	None
Hiller, C.	21	None
Hilton, W. A.	30	Farmer
Hintson, George H.	25	Farmer
Hirst, C. H.	28	Clerk
Hoff, H.	18	Farmer
Hodgson, F.	25	None
Hodgson, G. A.	21	Farmer
Holder, F. W.	29	Carpenter
Holding, W. J.	30	Insurance agent
" Mrs.	28	Wife
Holland, A. E. H.	22	Stationer
" H. H.	24	Bank Clerk
Holland, W. H.	31	Cigar importer
" J. E.	22	Wife
" D.	2½	None
Hollingworth, H.	30	Butcher
" Mrs.	30	None
" Frank	3½	"
" Sybil	1½	"
" John	--	"
Hollingworth, W.	24	Draper
Holliday, George E.	22	Cycle maker
Holmes, J.	48	Carpenter
" A.	21	"
Holtby, Arthur	17	Plumber
" Norman	16	Labourer
" Wm. H.	12	None
" Stanley	11	"
Holtby, Robert	45	Comm'l Traveller
" Mrs. C.	46	Wife
" Oliver	20	Painter
" Robert	18	Clerk
" Bessie	15	None
" Dorothy	8	"
Hood, H.	20	Farmer
Hook, W. A.	18	Ass't Carpenter
Hooper, E.	36	Fitter
Hope, John Wm.	27	Gal. Ironmaker
Hopper, Jos.	35	Engineer
Hordern, Wm.	49	Draper
" Paul	11	None
Horn, A.	22	Cabinet maker
Horrocks, E. A.	23	Bank clerk
Horton, M. A.	68	None
Houghton, J. A.	46	Labourer
Houghton, Wm.	51	Carpenter
Howard, S.	26	Fireman
Howes, F. C.	17	Nurseryman
Huddlestone, P. J.	34	Comm. Traveller

Alfred	18	Farmer
Thomas	20	Farmer
Leonard	16	Labourer
Percival	14	None
Lucy	10	"
Lock, W.	33	Farmer
man, H. C.	21	Postman
Mrs. H. C.	21	Wife
mer, C. J.	28	Marblemason
Ada Brown	28	Wife
C. L.	3	None
mer, J. G.	47	Striker
Mrs. J. G.	43	Wife
C. H.	24	Ironfounder
Mrs. C. H.	23	Wife
Miss E. J.	21	None
Mr. J.	15	"
Miss M. E.	11	"
Walter	9	"
Dora	7	"
Ethel	2	"
n, Robert	42	Gardener
yan, S. G. A.	33	R. R. Foreman
Mrs. Alice	27	Wife
Reginald A.	5½	None
John	2½	"
Doris May	--	"
ch, P. J.	22	Butcher-Farmer
gess, Ann	51	None
gess, John	50	Farmer
E.	46	Wife
Ethel	20	None
Lizzie	15	"
Henry	10	"
nham, A.	22	Carpenter
rrell, W. H.	22	None
rrough, G. R.	22	Farmer
rrow, J. R.	22	Farmer
rton, A. E.	22	Farmer
shell, J. J.	20	Hawker
cher, Alfred	31	Bootmaker
tler, Alfred	38	Fireman
" Emily	39	Wife
" Jas.	3½	None
tler, F. T.	20	Draper
" R. W.	14	Clerk
" G. B.	11	None
tler, W. R. W.	32	Farmer
worth, Mr.	18	Wireworker
ley, R. W.	28	Fitter
meron, James	33	Farmer
" Mrs.	33	Wife
" James	9	None
" Alice	7	"
meron, W. H.	50	Clerk
" M. E.	39	Wife
" Victor	9	None
" Reginald	8	"
" Constance	4	"
" Harry	5	"
" Violet	11	"

Coope, S.	26	Clerk
Cooper, Douglas	42	Farmer
Cooper, Samuel	31	Designer
" John	52	Bootmaker
" Albert	29	"
*below " Mrs. Samuel	21	Wife
Copley, R. T.	22	Clerk
Cork, Henry	22	Clerk
Costello, John	25	Brakesman
Cotton, John	23	Skilled labourer
" Mrs.	23	Dressmaker
Courtenay, C. A.	20	None
Cousins, P.	25	Labourer
Coward, J. H.	20	Warehouseman
Cowdy, Jno. G.O.	23	Carpenter
Cowell, R. J.	20	Engineer
Cowen, W. E.	30	Manager
" Mrs.	29	Wife
" Wm.	3½	None
Cowes, A. G.	24	Printer
Cox, A. J.	30	Postman
" Mrs.	30	Wife
Crankshaw, W. H.	28	Agent
Crawford, George	44	Butcher
" Albert	15	Butcher
" Horace	13	None
" Elsie	8	"
Cresswell, M.F.G.	31	Stoker
Cross, Thos.	43	Cashier
Crossley, I.F.	19	Farmer(no No.)
Crossley, F. I.	19	Farmer (#20798)
Crowther, B.	27	Dairyman
Croxford, George	26	Labourer
Cruse, John	26	Farmer
Cruse, S. J.	22	Carpenter
Cugger, A. H.	29	Machinist
Cullen, J.	18	Milkman
Cumpstay, Thomas	22	Dyer
Curtis , A.	36	Schoolmaster
" E. S.	37	Wife
" Dorothy	9	None
" Albert	6	"
Daglish, R.	24	Farm Labourer
Dalby, F.	18	Blacksmith
Dale, J. E.	22	Farmer
*Cooper, E.	20	Farmer
Carlisle-Bell, A.	35	None
" " M.	31	Wife
Carrick, Edgar	14	None
Carson, F. A.	41	Banker

Thank You

This First Section has been made possible through the generous advertising support of the following:

Canadian Utilities Ltd.
The City of Lloydminster
The Lloydminster Co-op Centre
The Lloydminster Gas Company Ltd.

Arnfield, William	30	Farm Labourer
Arnold, C. H.	25	Butcher
Arrowsmith, Alfred	27	Labourer
Arrowsmith, Robert	33	Farmer
" Mrs.	33	Wife
" Arthur	7	None
Ash, E.	22	Cutler
Ashley, A.	25	Clerk
Ashley, Arthur	25	Clerk
Ashton, E. J.	23	Bank Clerk
" Frank	22	" "
Ashworth, Jas.	27	Butcher
Atkins, W. M.	30	Salesman
Atkinson, G. T.	35	Gatehead
Ault, Ewart	20	Sailor
Back, J. S.	19	None
" L. J.	18	"
Bacon, E. McGuire	17	Clerk
Bailey, W.	53	Agent
" M.	17	None
" C.	16	"
Baker, Chas.	24	Farmer
Baker, Chas. W.	21	Jeweller
Baker, H. C.	21	None
Ball, Albert	22	Farmer
Ball, J.	43	Labourer
Ball, W.	35	Labourer
Ball, William	40	Farmer
Ball, William Jr.	19	Farmer
Bambridge, F.	29	None
" Mrs.	31	Wife
" F. W.	4	None
Banbury, C. H.	28	Carpenter
Banbury, Wm.	24	Blacksmith
Banks, W.	25	Farmer
Barber, V. H.	19	Farmer
Barber, W. G.	20	Carpenter
Bardwell, W.	19	Tailor
Barker, W. G.	21	Farmer
Barley, J. S.	43	Estate agent
Barlow, B. R.	20	Footman
Barnes, E.	19	Traveller
Barnes, H.	20	Fitter
" J. C.	29	Merchant
" Wm.	21	Accountant
Barnes, M. E.	19	Traveller
Barr, Rev. I. M.	50	
Barratt, A. B.	30	Miner
Barrett, C. H.	32	Farmer
Barrett, J.	35	Bookbinder
Barton, J. O.	24	Clerk
Bastion, S. J.	22	Carpenter
Bateman, J. M.	21	Farmer
Bates, F. F.	30	Dairy Farmer
Bates, Geo. A.	21	Carpenter
Bates, Alfred H.	20	"
Bates, J. B.	22	Carpenter
Bates, W. Jr.	23	Clerk
Bater, Wm.	39	Tobacconist
Bater, Master	14	None
Bater, Master	11	None
Leonard	2	None
Bettridge, Hy.	25	Farmer
Bevis, M. C.	25	Traveller
Bimis, M.	32	Printer
Bingham, J. E.	20	Labourer
Birks, R.	31	Labourer
Birtles, Harry	20	Teamster
" Wm.	23	Carpenter
Blackburn, E.	23	Railway Employe
Blackburn, David	31	Fitter
Blackburn, R. V.	36	Engineer
Blackburn, T. D.	35	Estate agent
Blackler, G.	25	Ironmonger
Blackwall, D. J.	30	Farmer
" T. A.	30	Wife
" A. I.	3	None
Blakey, Arthur	26	Shoeing smith
" Mrs.	26	Wife
Blanchard, G.	11	None
Blythe, J. J.	25	Furnace man
Boden, J.	45	Farmer
Boden, Mr.	45	Farmer
Boerma, G.	34	Caterer
" Mrs.	32	Wife
" Leonard	7	None
" Gladys	4	"
Veen, Mr. R. P. V.	30	Teacher
Bolam, J. R.	36	Farmer
Bolton, F. G.	25	Gardener
Bolton, John	32	Farmer
Bond, (Proud) G. W.	23	Publican
Bonsey, H. J.	29	Joiner
Boore, Geo. C.	30	None
Booth, Geo.	28	Cotton spinner
Bottomley, F.	49	Labourer
Boura, Henry	57	Farmer
" Florence	27	None
" Harry R.	5½	"
" Ethel C.	3	"
" George B.	4½	"
" Edgar F.	2	"
Bowen, C. A. J.	41	Farmer
" L. A.	47	Wife
" R. C.	19	Farmer
" M. B.	18	Farmer
" Laura	17	None
" Avis	10	"
Bowen, M. D.	18	Farmer
Bradford, P. M.	23	Estate agent
Bradshaw, F.	25	News agent & Salesman
Bradshaw, G.	21	Umbrella maker
Bramhall Geo. H.	37	File grinder
Branstone, C. Lowe	22	Woodman
Bridge, O. J.	35	Tailor
" Mrs.	32	Wife
" Marcus	--	None
Bridgeland, Mr.	29	Reservist
Bridger, J. F.	37	Farmer
Brigland, W.	29	Reservist
Brinklow, Arthur	34	Dairyman

Colgate, S.	22	Gardener
Collin, S.	31	Blacksmith
" A. E.	57	"
Collings, E. A.	24	Joiner
Eastwood, Alfred	25	Poultry farmer
Eastwood, Ernest	20	Bookbinder
Edward, J. R.	37	Farmer
Edwards, A.	30	Carman
Edwards, Geo.	19	Labourer
Edwards, W. G.	36	Grocer
" Mrs.	32	Wife
Edwards, Thomas	53	Farmer
" Alice	47	Wife
" Madeline	7	None
Elleiyton, F. W.	30	Clerk
Elleray, T. R.	30	Miller &
" Mary	24	Wife(Engineer)
" Zelma	4	None
Ellis, A.	44	Baker
Ellis, Charles	53	Farmer
Ellis, Edward	26	Assistant
Ellis, Cyril	10	None
Ellis, F. G.	20	Draper
Ellis, L. A.	19	Engineer
Ellis, W. O.	34	Farmer
Ellis, Mr.	19	Student
English, W. H.	38	Farmer
English, H. A.	33	Wife
" G. W.	7	None
" H. M.	5	"
" N. B.	3	"
" W.	--	"
Entwistle, W.	40	Printer
Erhorn, L. W.	39	Cabinetmaker
" Mrs.	31	Wife
" Mary	12	None
" Alice	11	"
" Ada	9	"
" Bertha	8	"
" William	7	"
" Sydney	5	"
" John	4	"
" Fred	2	"
" Ernest	--	"
Erskine, W.	18	Clerk
Estridge, John I.	55	Landowner
" Louisa A.	47	Wife
" George C.	18	None
" Arthur W.	16	"
" Augustus	14	"
" Charles H.	12	"
" Harold E.	10	"
" Hugh S.	9	"
" K. O.	8	"
" Hubert	6	"
" M. D.	4	"
" Reginald	3	"
Evans, F. G.	21	Dentist
Evans, H. R	34	Farmer
Evans, J.	23	Bootmaker
Evans, John, H.	26	Bootmaker
Dunnett, W.	22	Indoor Ser
Dure, F.	23	Carpenter
Dye, Jno.	38	Bootmaker
Dyer, W.	39	Farmer
" Mrs.	38	Wife
" May	12	None
" Fred	9	"
" Will	4	"
Early, E. W.	40	Farmer
" E. M.	29	Wife
" S. J.	8	None
Earwaker, Charles	30	Engineer
" Ada	29	Wife
" Ada Lily	7	None
" Norah G	5	"
" Wm. E.	Infant	"
Fawcett, A. C.	29	Postman
" Mrs.	27	Wife
" Doris	5	None
" Elsie	--	"
Ferguson, George	41	Manufacture
Field, E. H.	17	Merchant
Finley, R.	22	Salesman
Finley, R.	22	Salesman
Finn, Paul	18	Labourer
Finnis, H. W.	22	Clerk
Fisher, Elijah	47	Railway guar
" Mrs.	45	Wife
" Henry	21	Labourer
" William	20	Miner
" Albert	16	None
" Frederick	13	"
Fisher, Harry	20	"
Fisher, H.	20	"
Fisher, Jas. L.	30	Poultry farm
" Mrs.	30	Wife
" Ada Doris	--	None
Fisher, Jos. S.	30	Poultry farm
" Mrs. A. S.	30	Wife
" Ada D.	--	None
Fisher Mr.	30	Brakesman
" Mrs.	28	Domestic
" Evie	--	None
Fishwick, James	28	Farmer
Flamank, George	38	Sedretary
Flello Abner	45	Labourer
Fleming, J.	40	Farmer
Fletcher, Annie	27	Nurse
Foote, W. G.	27	Carpenter
Forbes, R.	23	Engineers Fitter
Ford, W. J.	19	None
Forster, F.	26	Pipe maker
Foster, J.	46	Tailor
" A.	19	Engineer
" R.	18	Butcher
Foster, Frederick	22	Painter
" Thomas	18	"
Fowler, W.	30	Furnace tende
Fox, A. W.	31	Collector
Fox, Charles A.	44	Solicitor
" Mary	40	Wife

Jones, F.	20	Clerk
Jones, H. Homfray	36	Farmer
" , Mrs. K. M. F.	29	Wife
Jones, J.	23	Carpenter
Jones, P. A.	25	Engineer
Jones. R. A.	24	Assistant
Jones, Nath.	49	Store Manager
" , Elizabeth	48	None
" , Herbert	23	Labourer
" , Arthur	22	Clerk
" , Frank	21	"
Jordan, Charles	36	None
Kavanagh, T. P.	36	Mining engineer
" , Mrs.	29	Wife
Kellett, J. J.	24	Porter
Kellow, C. C.	21	None
Kemp, W. John	33	Farm Labourer
Kempton, C. F.	21	Clerk
Kent, A. J.	28	Jobmaster
Kent , F. C.	21	Clerk
Kenyon, Wm.	22	Machinst
Kieser , W. E.	29	Cabinet maker
" , E.	25	Wife
" , D.	2	None
" , F.	--	"
Kilburn, N. A.	27	None
King, F. L.	29	Farmer
" , Mrs. E.	30	Wife
King, Walter A.	22	Farmer
Kirby, W.	23	Labourer
Kirk, Mr.	35	Printer
" , Mrs.	31	Wife
" , Ivy	7	None
Kitching, George	35	Gamekeeper
" , Mrs. E.	35	Wife
" , Wm.	5	None
" , Fred	2	"
" , Olive	--	"
Kindephtom, Mr.		
Klombies, A. B.	22	Farmer
Knife, E. F.	29	Horsekeeper
Knight, A. G.	23	Time clerk
Knight, B.	23	Postman
Knight, H.	23	Postal servant
Knowles, Percy, E.	24	Clerk
Knowles, Wm.	24	Driver
Knox, Andrew J.	39	Farmer
" , Mrs.	31	Wife
Lambert, H.	20	Clerk
Lamming, J. R. L.	21	Clerk
Lane, F. J.	25	Clerk
Langslow, E. T.	47	Farmer
" , G. F.	36	Fitter
Lever, H. R.	34	Merchant
" , Mrs.	39	Wife
" , Child	4	None
" , Child	2½	"
Lawrence, A. E.	18	Farmer
Lawrence, J.	39	Farmer
" , Annie	39	Wife
" , Dorothy	7	"
" , Ralph	4	"
Mackie, R. E.	22	Traveller
Main, S.	26	None
Magson, G. J.	23	Warehouseman
Malaher, B. H.	25	Farmer
" , J. H.	21	Farmer
Manning, Jno.	21	Gardener
Mare, F.	21	None
Marfleet, E.	19	Fishmonger
" , Harold	26	Bricklayer
Margrill, Fred	38	Smith
" , F.	10	None
" , Annie	14	"
Markham, H.	29	Farmer
" , M. L.	30	Wife
" , D. L.	5	None
" , E.	--	"
Marlow, Charles	42	Farmer
" , Bessie	39	Wife
" , Mary	11	None
" , Winifred	9	"
Marlow, Miss M.	31	None
Marriott, A.	30	Gardener
" , Mrs. A.	30	Wife
" , E.	7	None
" , L.	3	"
Marrow, W.	30	Clerk
Marsh, H.	20	None
Marsh, W. H. H.	33	Butcher's Cutter
" , Mrs.	36	Wife
" , E.	10	None
" , G.	8	"
" , Master J. H.	5	"
Marsland, J.	25	Cutter
Martin, John T.	36	Agent
" , Kate T.	39	Wife
" , Irene	14	None
" , Cedric	11	"
" , Ena	8	"
" , Muriel	4	"
" , Phyllis	2	"
Martin, T. A.	40	Gentleman
Martin, William	23	Baker
Mason, George	22	Labourer
Masterman, J. W.	26	Dairyman
" , R.	25	Wife
" , J. D.	--	None
Matthews, P. J.	20	Farmer
Maule, C. E.	30	Porter
McCool, R. T.	33	Salesman
" , Mrs.	28	Wife
" , Hubert	4½	None
McCormick, Jas.	27	Rates Valuer
McCullock, A.	23	Farm Labourer
McGuffie, R.	46	Grocer
" , Mrs.	45	Wife
" , Wm.	21	Grocer
" , Robert	19	Cabinet maker
" , Jessie	17	Dressmaker

Shaw, Sydney	22	Farm labourer
Sheatby, Henry	26	Butcher
Shepherd, Jos.	20	Butcher
Shilletoe, A. B.	19	Farmer
" C.	22	Farmer
Simkins, Tom	25	Carpenter
Simple, J. W.	30	Farmer
" S.	22	"
Sinclair, Jas.	30	Stonemason
" Mrs.	30	Wife
" Edith	14	None
" Douglas	9	"
" Louise	--	"
Sisley, Laura	50	Saleswoman
Siner, S.	24	Clothier
Skingle, David	20	Clerk
Skinner, E.	29	Carpenter
Skinner, J. W.	22	Clerk
Slade, Lancelot L.	27	Telegraphist
Slater, J. F.	32	None
Slater, Jas.	27	Gardener
Sleight, Benjamin	20	Labourer
Small, Ed.	18	Farmer
Smeddler, B.	25	Iron moulder
Smith, A.	29	Coachman
Smith, Arthur G.	23	Butcher
Smith, Arthur H.	22	Clerk
Smith, Arthur M.	29	Farmer
Smith, Bernard	19	Farmer
Smith, B. K.	20	None
Smith, C. W.	29	Clerk
Smith, F. H.	23	None
Smith, G. H.	35	Diesinker
" Mrs. M.	59	Widow
" F. B.	25	Clerk
" W. H.	19	Diesinker
Smith, Henry	35	Engineer
Smith, H. H.	40	Traveller
" H. J.	25	Butcher
Smith, J.	24	Farmer
Smith, Jno.	24	Driller
Smith, J.	39	Foreman
" M.	35	Wife
" Elsie	12	None
" Gertrude	10	"
" Jno. H.	8	"
" Jas. F.	6	"
" Edith	4	"
" A. M.	1	"
Smith, J. L.	24	Joiner
Smith, R.	50	None
Smith, R. J.	46	Messenger
" Mrs. E.	46	Wife
Smith, Miss Rose	23	Dressmaker
Smith, Sam	18	Labourer
Smith, Samuel	20	Manager
Smith, Wm.	44	Carpenter
" Mrs.	38	Wife
" F. W. T.	16	None
" Bessie L.	12	"
" Nellie T.	8	"
" Edward	20	Electrician
" Emily	17	None
" Mabel	16	"
" Richard	13	"
" Joseph	11	"
" John	8	"
" Fred	5	"
" Patricia	3	"
" Charles	2	"
" Raymond	--	"
Swan, C.	56	Cutter
" A.	58	Wife
" D.	25	Cutter
" J.	23	None
Swarbrick, H. D.	24	Clerk
Symmonds, R. J.	25	Traveller
Symons, R.	20	Farmer
Taylor, G. E.	26	Gardener
" W. E.	20	"
Taylor, H. F.	19	Farmer
Taylor, H. J.	19	Joiner
Taylor, H. P.	19	Clerk
Taylor, Norman	23	Stamper
Talbot, Arthur M.	23	Insurance Agt.
Tattersall, J.	28	Farmer
" J.	24	"
Taylor, Wm.	28	Farmer
Taylor, W. S.	36	Compositor
" Mrs.	35	Wife
" W. J.	9	None
Tearoe, James	17	Clerk
Teasdale, J. W.	20	Farmer
Tebbs, J. W.	34	Carpenter
" Mrs. F. E.	30	Wife
" Elsie	5	None
" Walter	11	"
Tepoe, Y.	24	Fireman
Thesher, A. S.	23	Printer
Thomas, A. C.	28	Dairyman
Thomas, A. H.	26	Grocer's Asst
Thomas, C. E.	37	Engineer
" Mrs. M. E.	34	Wife
" H. W.	15	None
" F. M.	13	"
Thomas, D.	29	Farm Labourer
Thomas, H. B.	26	Farmer
Thomas, T. R.	32	Farmer
Thompson, R.	32	Farmer
Thorlander, J. A.	19	Traveller
Thorn, Richard	32	Labourer
Thornber, H.	21	Weaver
Thornton, Jos.	24	Upholsterer
Thornton, Joseph	24	Upholsterer
Thornton, W. A.	26	Farmer
Thornton, Wm.	41	Labourer
Thorpe, Frederick	44	Farmer
" Eliza	48	Wife
" Frederick	18	Farmer
" Arthur	13	None
" Thomas	11	"
" Bessie	10	"
" Walter	8	"

Robinson, Ann Maria	38	None
" V.	17	"
" E. E.	11	"
Robinson, B.	37	Blacksmith
" G. L.	19	None
" J. E.	38	Engineer
Robinson, F.	33	Engineer
" I.	29	Draper
Robinson, R.	29	Weaver
Robinson, W. A.	21	Clerk
Rogers, H. C.	25	Saddler
Rogers, Walter J.	21	Corn merchant
Romiley, W. L.	24	Printer
Roots, Thos. R.	20	Cranedriver
Rose, A. G.	35	Gardener
Rose, C.	26	Blacksmith
Rotherham, T. A. H.	23	Tailor's cutter
Rough, A.	27	Dairyman
Roulston, T.	23	Grocer's ass't.
Rowles, B. H.	23	Builder
" Mrs.	23	Wife
Rowley, Jno. M.	21	Schoolmaster
Roy, L. M.	25	Compositor
Ruddler, Jas.	21	Wheelwright
Rutherford, Robert J.	19	Pupil teacher
Ryder, H. J.	20	Electrician
Sagon, Herbert J.	27	Miller
Salman, F.	26	Grocer
" Mrs.	26	Wife
Salmon, Chas. E. R.	38	Traveller
" Mrs.	28	Wife
" Robert S.	20	Farmer
Salmon, Harold	35	Cycle mechanic
Salt, Henry	20	Grocer
Sanderson, J. H.	21	Farmer
Sanderson, Michael	54	Farmer
" Thos.	35	"
" Annie	39	Wife
" Dorothy	10	None
" Ethel	7	"
" Mabel	3	"
" T. S.	--	"
Sapsford, A.	26	Farmer
" E.	27	Farmer
Saunders, A.	35	Turner
Saunders, C. G.	18	Clerk
" Laura	25	None
Saunders, Wm. J.	21	Farmer
Scales, Thos.	23	Baker
Schofield, Arthur	40	Silver chaser
Scholey, W.	27	Carpenter
Schroeder, L.	19	Tailor
Scoffam, A. W.	30	None
Scott. P. H.	33	Farmer
Scrivener, H. J.	49	Upholsterer
Seaborne, Ernest	21	Clerk
Sewill, R.	26	Miner
Seymour, Leonard	25	Labourer
Sharpe, W. H.	31	None
Shaw, B.	28	Labourer
Shaw, Chas. H.	34	Engineer
Shaw, John	21	R. R. fireman
Shaw, P. B.	24	Farmer
Smith, Wm.	35	Polisher
" Mrs.	33	Wife
Smithies, J. H.	28	Labourer
Sorrell, John J.	19	Compositor
Spear, G.		Merchant
" J. J.	55	Merchant
Spence, Herbert	26	Joiner
Spence, P.	35	None
Spence, R.	25	Gardener
Spick, F.	32	Railway Guard
Spindler, E. F.	20	Warehouseman
Sprareling, R. C.	33	Clerk
Spratley, A. H.	36	Sign writer
Stanford, H.	19	None
Stansfield, Karl	18	Civil Servant
Stanward, J.	36	Bootmaker
Staples, Miss	21	None
Stapley, A.	37	Gardener
" Mrs. A.	45	Wife
" May	5	None
Steadman, G.	30	Clerk
" W.	30	"
Steer, G.	27	Bootmaker
Stephenson, G. J.	26	Architect
Stephenson, Jas.	24	Glassmaker
Stevenson, J. H.	26	Farmer
Steward, Chas. C.	23	Farmer
Still, Arthur	48	Farmer
" L. F.	47	Wife
" J.	18	Farmer
Still, F. M.	16	Farmer
" G.	14	None
Stocker, J. C.	28	None
Stone, C.	22	Carpenter
Stone, Geo. W.	35	Florist
Stone, J.	31	Clerk
Stone, Wm.	24	Labourer
Stone, Wm.	32	Farmer
Stoppard, Albert	29	Pork butcher
" Wm.	26	Labourer
Storey, Matt	37	Insurance agen
Stracey, Walter	22	Warehouseman
Stringer, L.	41	Traveller
" M. E.	40	Wife
" Wm.	16	None
" John	11	"
Strong, Mary	20	Servant
Stubbins, Arthur	35	File grin
Stuckey, A. A.	27	Quarry man
Sumner, P. W.	21	Farmer
Sunderland, Frank	45	Butcher
" Ida	20	None
" Stanley	19	Butcher
Sutch, H.	18	Chemist
Sutcliffe, A. E.	21	Carpenter
Sutton, C. E.	32	Drysalter
Sutton, H.	23	Dealer
" Mrs.	23	Wife
Sutton, H. W.	24	Farmer
Sutton, W. E.	18	Teacher
Sutton, Mr.	44	Corn merchant
" Mrs.	43	Wife

" G. N.	21	Farmer
Hull, F. G.	20	Shop Assistant
" A. E.	15	Carpenter
Hulme, James	34	Labourer
Hunt, A.	21	Grocer's Ass't
Hunt, Francis	29	Printer
Hunt, Walter, W.	36	Gamekeeper
Florence M.	34	Wife
Hunt, W. H.	20	Prospector
Hunter, Thomas	29	Labourer
Huntley, Arthur E.	26	Grocer
Huntley, Jno.	35	Postman
Hurle, Hy.	28	Farmer
Hurt, F.	22	Lithographer
Hutchinson, H.	19	Farmer
Hutchinson, Wm.	27	Farmer
Huxley, Harold	21	Shop Ass't
" Leonard	19	Postman
Holtby W. H.	47	Insurance Agent
" A. G.	40	Wife
" R. G.	--	None
Ibbotson P. J.	19	Farmer
Iley, Rose	25	None
" T.	28	Wire rope maker
" Wm.	21	Steward
Ing. F.	22	Farmer
" A. W.	26	Mechanic
Inge, Stanley H.	18	Miller
Ikin, Henry	39	Farmer
" Elizabeth	29	Wife
" Henry	4	None
" Elizabeth	3	"
" Sarah	2	"
Ireland, H. J.	24	Ironmoulder
Isles, A.	22	Piano maker
Ives, G.	22	Groom
Ives, H.	45	Blacksmith
" W.	18	Grocer
Jackson, A.	24	Clerk
Jackson, Thomas R.	22	Wood engraver
Jacoby, D. J.	25	Clerk
James, E.	32	Miner
Jarvis, Andrew	22	Bricklayer
Jeffrey, John	30	Labourer
" Mrs.	34	Wife
" Albert	12	Labourer
" Annie	8	None
" Herbert	6	"
" John	3	"
" Benjamin	--	"
Jenkins, W. J.	21	Grocer
Jepson, H. R.	22	Ex-soldier
Jewsbury, A. E.	35	None
Johnson, E. M.	47	None
Johnson, R. S.	26	None
Johnson H. J.	20	Civil servant
Johnstone, Martha	20	None
Jones, A.	22	Farmer
Jones, Alfred	37	Labourer
Jones, A. J.	24	Clerk
Jones, David	25	Farmer
" Mrs.	30	Wife
Jones, Dan	30	Clerk
" , Rose	17	None
" , Albert	15	"
Laycock, H.	25	Gardener
Leaney, P. G.	20	Farmer
Leathley, Charles H.	30	Printer
" Mrs.	29	Wife
" W	4	None
Lee, Alfred	21	Bookbinder
Lee, B.	24	Farmer
Lee, Betsy	20	Wife
Leslie, Robert	28	Engine man
Leslie, E. V.	23	Farmer
Lester, R. G.	36	Labourer
Little, G.	50	Labourer
Lindsay, J.	36	Mechanic
Lister, W. J.	26	Joiner
Litchfield, E.	21	R'y. tkt. Insp.
Litchfield, W. T.	29	Mail porter
" Mrs.	28	Domestic
Litton, Olive	23	Servant
Lockie, Ed.	27	Steward
Long, W. D.	21	Farmer
Longland, H. D.	32	Tanner
Lonsdale, John	48	Porter
" Elizabeth	50	Wife
" Maud	20	None
Looker, Mr.	22	Farmer
Lord, L. J.	25	Dairyman
" M. D.	23	Joiner
Lost, J.	21	Milkman
Loundes, J. W.	26	Farmer
Love, H. T.	27	Labourer
Lowe, C.	26	Type printer
Lowe, G. H.	32	Miner
" M.	21	Wife
Lowes, H.	21	Joiner
Lucas, C.	36	Engineer
" Howard	18	Carpenter
" John	21	Butcher
Lucas, T. H.	21	Clerk
Luck, B.	24	Farmer
Luckett, Henry	24	Labourer
Luther, B.	25	Servant
Lyddiatt, W. J.	31	Clerk
" M. J.	35	Wife
Lynch, D. W.	38	Farmer
" M.	30	Wife
" M.	5	None
" C.	4	"
" P.	4	"
Lyle, J. P.	23	Breeder
Lloyd, Rev. G. E.		
" Mrs.		
" Gladys		
" Exton		
" Percy		
" Arthur		
" Alice		
Mabbs, Jno. A.	22	Printer
Mackie, F. H.	41	Decorator
" Mrs.	40	Wife
" Grace	18	None
" Frank	16	"
" Allan	[illegible]	"

Carson, Wm.	36	Stonecutter
" Henry	16	None
Carter, Charles	21	Cellarman
Carter, R.	28	Miner
Casey, H.	27	Grocer
Caswell, George	16	Farm Labourer
" Sidney	15	" "
Catlin, William	22	Labourer
Catt, Geo.	25	Farm hand
Casley, A.	28	Mechanic
Chadwick, C.	25	Clerk
Chaloner, Thomas	25	Bricklayer
Chamberlayne, F.	22	Ironmonger
Chambers, S. W.	28	Farmer
Chandler, H.	18	Farm labourer
Chapman, G.	23	Clerk
Chapman, G.	25	Warehouseman
Charlton, Geo., F.	27	Painter
Chase, Walter L.	18	Farmer
Chatterton, Jno.	30	Gas stoker
Cheeseman, S.	37	Farmer
" Mrs. S.	40	Wife
" Cyril	11	None
" Eva	10	"
Childs, Alfred	33	Farm labourer
" Martha	36	Wife
" Walter	12	None
" Alfred	8	"
" William	6	"
" Averey	1	"
Chilton, Thomas	23	Shunter
Church, Albion	16	W'house Ass't
Chrystie, W. W.	30	Factor
Clarke, J.	45	Farmer
" Mrs.	44	Wife
Clarke, James H.	24	None
Clarke, R.	27	Labourer
Clarkson, H.	50	Farmer & Butcher
Clay, Sidney	22	Engineer
Clayton, J.	34	Grocer
" Mrs. J.	31	None
Claxton, Richard R.	29	Engineer
" Mrs. R.	30	Wife
" Edmund	--	None
Cleator, T. P.	50	Engineer
" Mrs.	42	Wife
" Elsie	15	Telegraphist
" Lucy	13	None
" Edith	10	"
" William	8	"
" Thomas	7	"
" Martha	6	"
" Wilfred	2	"
Cleaver, W. H.	18	Postman
Clements, G.	36	Shoemaker
Close, H. H.	30	Student
Clowling, Eliz.	20	None
Clutterbuck, James	29	Stonecarver
Coates, W. V.	16	
Cobb, Geo.	25	Farmer
Coggin, G. W.	48	Gardener
Coleman, A. E.	31	Baker
Coleman, J.	31	None

Evans, W. H.	32	Builder
Evans, E.	31	Wife
Everett, F. H.	22	Clerk
Exoll , Wm.	50	Foreman
Fanshaw, Harold	21	Clerk
Farnworth, Fred	29	Farmer
Fash, A.	23	Tailor
Faulder, S.	26	Farmer
Dalgetty, Jos.	37	Salesman
Dallas, L.	20	Mechanic
Daniels, A.	19	Clerk
Darby, Mr.	26	House decc
" Mrs.	22	Wife
Darbyshire, W.	36	Blacksmith
Davidson, F. R.	40	Farmer
Davies, A. C.	19	Dairyman
Davies, A. D.	19	Farmer
Davies, Henry	21	Labourer
Davies, W. J.	24	Draper
Dawson A. H.	23	Farmer
Dawson, H.	30	Architect
Dawson, F. P.	40	Farmer
Dean, W.	30	Traveller
De Ant, Frank E.	26	Farmer
De Haveland, Mr.	30	Teacher
Dennis, E. R.	23	Farmer
Dennis, Jas.	38	Greengrocer
" Jessie	35	Wife
" Alfred	12	None
" Jessie	11	None
Dennis, J. C.	22	Labourer
Detheridge, H.	29	Carpenter
Dey, Wm.	37	Grocer
Dibble, Reginald	19	Carpenter
Dibbles, L. H.	21	Plumber
Dicconson, H. H.	23	Warehousema
Dickens, T.	21	Iron moulde
Dicker, E.	25	Clerk
Dickson, L.	18	Clerk
Dickson, L.	23	None
Dickinson, Wm.	31	General Wor
" J.	13	Joiner
Dixon, G. W.	19	Farmer
Dobree, B. E.	27	Farmer
Dollemore, F. A.	19	Farmer
Donnolly, F. J.	21	Labourer
Douglas, G. C.	24	Horseman
Downie, John	26	Tailor
Downing, J.	21	Fitter
Drabble, J.	30	Farmer & Dea
" Mrs.	28	Wife
" Philip	4	None
" Charles	1½	"
" Edwin	--	"
Druee, W.	49	Cooper
" R. H.	18	"
Ducker, H.	28	Farmer
Duff, Robert Forbes	44	Farmhand
Dummett, W. L.	22	Servant
Duncan, John G.	37	None
Dunlop, J.	25	Farmer
Dunn, Horace	19	Farmer

A Public Service Newspaper

The Lloydm

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VOL. LIX

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We Salute

Passenger List
S.S. Lake Manitoba

On the occasion of the 60th A
we pay tribute to these fearless
their homeland, crossed an oce
braved the hardships of a new

Name	Age	Occupation
Adams, Geo.	31	Clerk
" Mrs.	28	Wife
Adams, W.	43	Engine driver
" Francis	40	Wife
" Alice	21	None
" M.	19	"
" Harry	18	"
" Stephen	13	"
" Lillie	6	"
" Daisy	2	"
" A. C.	--	"
Addison T.	26	W'houseman
Akehurst, E. J.	49	Tutor
Alcock, J. I.	27	Clerk
Allard, John	23	Labourer
Allen, A. C.	22	Engineer
Allen E. E.	24	Butcher
Allen, John F.	24	Grocer
Allen, H. W.	20	Farmer
" W. G.	24	Carpenter
Almond, Geo.	17	Gardener
Altree, Alfred	23	Butcher
Andrews, Bertram	27	Farmer
" Mrs.	27	Wife
Anderson, G.	23	Labourer
Anderson, Jas.	20	Labourer
Andrews H. A.	30	Farmer
Ard, Wm.	25	Bank Clerk
" Rev. A. J. S.	27	
Batholomew, R.	18	Farmer
Batt, H.	22	Farmer
Battensby, R.	47	Gardener
Battensby, J.	21	Labourer
Bayley, A. T.	38	Grocer
" Mrs.	31	None
" Master	9	None
Beach, Jas.	27	W'houseman
Beagley, E. J.	21	Warehouseman
Beard, F. H.	34	Farmer
Beaumont, W. J.	18	Clerk
Beck, George F.	19	Farmer
Beck, J.	33	Butcher
Beesin, John. H.	23	Dispenser
Bell, Alfred Wm.	21	Photo Engraver
Bell, C.	27	Train Labourer
Bell, Sarah	23	Wife
" Hannah	2	None
" Ivy	--	None
Bellsham, P. R.	30	Carpenter
Bentham, T.	30	Overlooker
Bentley, W. H.	38	Dispenser
" Mrs.	32	Wife
Berridge, F. G.	21	Sailor
Berridge, T. W.	24	Farmer
Berriman, F. W. A.	28	Clerk
Berry, W.	19	Farmer
Bessant, Geo.	35	Gardener
" Mrs.	32	Wife
" Wm.	10	None

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